

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

E. V. ARNOLD, Litt.D.

AND

F. W. HALL, M.A.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT:

Prof. J. F. DOBSON, M.A., *Chairman.*

Prof. A. C. CLARK, Litt.D., F.B.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

L. WHIBLEY, M.A., *Hon. Secretary.*

Prof. R. S. CONWAY,
Litt.D., F.B.A.

With the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary, representing the Council of the Classical Association.

Prof. H. WILLIAMSON,
M.A.

A. D. GODLEY, Litt.D.,

Representing the Oxford Philological Society.

Prof. Sir W. RIDGEWAY, D.Litt., Litt.D.,

Sc.D., LL.D., F.B.A.,

Representing the Cambridge Philological Society.

With the co-operation of Prof. WM. GARDNER HALE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO;

Prof. MAURICE HUTTON, TORONTO; Prof. T. G. TUCKER, Litt.D., MELBOURNE.

VOLUME XVIII

PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION BY

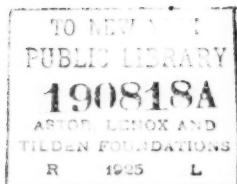
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

AND

G. E. STECHERT & CO., 151-155, WEST 25TH STREET, NEW YORK

1924

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

Euripides
Anchises
Philip V.
Etymolog
Enniana.
The Manu
' Tempore
Cum and
The *Ionica*
Geograph
Macrobii
Summaries
Liter

Euripides
Publius C
' Domitian
' Valerius
Terentian
A Note on
Virgil's C
The Manu
Three No
Summaries
Liter

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. 1.

	PAGE
Euripides and Menander. M. ANDREWES	I
Anchises and Aphrodite. H. J. ROSE	11
Philip V. and Phthia. W. W. TARN	17
Etymologies. RODERICK MCKENZIE	23
Enniana. ETHEL M. STEUART	24
The Manuscripts of the <i>Metamorphoses</i> of Apuleius.—I. D. S. ROBERTSON	27
'Tempore Puncto.' W. A. MERRILL	42
<i>Cum</i> and <i>Cumulus</i> . O. L. RICHMOND	43
The <i>Ionicus a Minore</i> of Horace. J. P. POSTGATE	46
Geographical Lore in the <i>Liber Glossarum</i> . M. L. W. LAISTNER	49
Macrobian: Aithiopians and Others. W. R. HALLIDAY	53
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	55

No. 2.

Euripides' <i>Alcmaeon</i> and the <i>Apollonius Romance</i> . A. H. KRAPPE	57
Publius Clodius and the Acts of Caesar. L. G. POCKOCK	59
'Domitianae Cohortes.' W. W. HOW	65
'Valerius Probus on Early Accentuation'	66
Terentiana (<i>continued</i>). J. S. PHILLIMORE	67
A Note on the First Sallustian <i>Suasoria</i> . HUGH LAST	83
Virgil's <i>Culex</i> . W. M. LINDSAY	84
The Manuscripts of the <i>Metamorphoses</i> of Apuleius.—II. D. S. ROBERTSON	85
Three Notes on Appian. MARCUS N. TOD	99
<i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	105

Nos. 3, 4.

	PAGE
Some Neglected Points in the Fourth Eclogue. H. J. ROSE	113
The Indo-European Languages of Eastern Turkestan. T. A. SINCLAIR	119
Socrates and Plato in Post-Aristotelian Tradition. G. C. FIELD	127
The Homeric Hymns. T. L. AGAR	137
A Peisistratean Edition of the Hesiodic Poems. †HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE	142
Pindarica. A. C. PEARSON	151
Charis and Charites. TADEUSZ ZIELINSKI	158
Aeschylus, <i>Agamemnon</i> 1-8. T. L. AGAR	163
Aristotle, <i>Poetics</i> , c. XVI., § 10. J. A. SMITH	165
An Inscribed 'Raetic' Fibula. J. WHATMOUGH	168
Empedokles and his Clepsydra again. HUGH LAST	169
The Exiles of Peisistratus. F. E. ADCOCK	174
The Trial of Epaminondas. M. CARY	182
A Traditional Form in Religious Language. A. D. NOCK	185
Two Notes on the Great Persecution. NORMAN H. BAYNES	189
Virgil's Marble Temple: <i>Georgics</i> III. 10-39. D. L. DREW	195
Statius, <i>Thebaid</i> , Book II. W. B. ANDERSON	203
 <i>Summaries of Periodicals:</i>	
Literature and General	209
INDICES TO VOL. XVIII.	215

TH

GREEK

MSS., is the
Aristophan
charmus a
certain sto
speech. O
convention
the later pl
cause, claim
most impor
estimated
the spirit a
underlying

The st
their intere
recognition
of men. T
New Come
reminders t

—a couplet
though the
of conventi
expressed, l
characters.
represented
and when a
answer is q

So too in I
admiration

NO. I., V.

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1924.

EURIPIDES AND MENANDER.

GREEK New Comedy, as we know it from references and fragmentary MSS., is the meeting-place of three confluent streams—comedy of manners, Aristophanic comedy, and tragedy. From Sicilian comedy, through Epicharmus at Syracuse and Crates and Pherecrates at Athens, it inherited certain stock stage figures, and a tradition of 'invented' plots and sententious speech. Old Comedy it resembled in its fun and informality and many stage conventions; and, indeed, the resemblance was so marked, in at least one of the later plays of Aristophanes, that the writer of his life, mistaking effect for cause, claimed the lost *Cocalus* as the original model of New Comedy. Perhaps most important of all was the influence of tragedy; and this influence may be estimated by a direct comparison between Euripides and Menander, both in the spirit and form of their plays and in the social and philosophic theories underlying them.

The strongest bond between Euripides and the New Comedy poets is their interest in contemporary life and character and manners, and their recognition of the common humanity underlying all sorts and conditions of men. The abstract theory of universal brotherhood finds full expression in New Comedy in the claims that 'all men have one nature,' and the frequent reminders that 'you are but human'; and they are summed up in the words:¹

ἔξωθέν εἰσιν οἱ δοκούντες εὐτυχεῖν
λαμπροί, τὰ δ' ἔνδον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι

—a couplet borrowed straight from Euripides (*Androm.* 330). With Euripides, though the corollaries to a belief in the unity of mankind (the falseness of conventional standards on questions of slavery and poverty) are freely expressed, his personal conviction is most evident, not in maxims but in characters. His Theseus, the personification of the poet's ideal for Athens, is represented in the *Supplices* as washing the wounds of the dead Argive chiefs; and when average Greek opinion, in the form of Adrastus, shows disgust, the answer is quick:

τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἀνθρώποισι τὰλλήλων κακά;

So too in Euripides the humble and low-born are held up to the pity and admiration of the audience: the peasants of the *Electra* and the *Orestes* (v. 918),

¹ Cf. Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* 602, 531, 538, 669.

or the loyal slaves of Klytaimnestra and Kreousa (*Iph. Aul.* 867; *Ion* 730 sqq.).

The emptiness of wealth and high birth was not an original discovery of Euripides, but it is a subject to which both he and Menander give great prominence. In both, protests against simple riches as a standard of nobility are too widespread to need illustration. Euripides is constantly claiming that, though rank and riches are by no means without effect, they are of no importance whatever in determining a man's true worth, and that poverty and slavery are no bar to real nobility. In all these points his words are echoed, and his position supported by the poets of New Comedy.¹

Slavery is the question on which Euripides seems to touch with the deepest feeling. He does not indeed regard it as a social wrong to be abolished: slavery is unquestioned as an economic necessity, and the line between Greek and barbarian is still distinct. But almost every play reveals his deep pity and understanding, and a recognition that true slavery can be only of the mind, not of the body. A typical passage is from the *Ion*:

ἐν γάρ τι τοῖς δούλοισιν αἰσχύνῃν φέρει,
τοῦνομα · τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐλευθέρων
οὐδεὶς κακίων δούλος, ὅστις ἐσθλὸς ᾗ,

and its substance appears elsewhere.² The New Comedy attitude toward slaves is at bottom the same, though a real sympathy for them does not exclude passages in which lying and cunning slaves play a prominent part. Some passages from Menander and Philemon might as easily be attributed to Euripides—e.g.:

ἐλευθέρως δούλευε · δούλος οὐκ ἔσει.³

Other⁴ passages dwell on the state of slavery, either in justification or protest, as though there were a growing consciousness that it called for explanation. Yet others point out the demoralizing effects of slavery,⁵ and call for justice⁶ and a certain amount of freedom.⁷ It is clear, even from such isolated fragments, that slavery was a question of interest to New Comedy poets. The representation of slaves on the stage was in itself only a natural consequence of the change in the sphere of drama: slaves were as essential to domestic life and intrigue on the stage as they were to the household of every Athenian off it. But the expression of the rights of slaves, and the sympathetic tone of many references to them, is evidence of the debt which New Comedy here owes to Euripides.

A further sign of his influence may be found in the critical and speculative temper of much of New Comedy writing. Much of the scepticism and philosophic tendencies of New Comedy simply reflects the questionings of the age; but certain manifestations of them can be definitely traced back to

¹ Cf. Eur. *El.* 550, fr. 345, 53, 54 (N.); Men. *Mon.* 20.

² *Ion* 854; cf. *Hel.* 728, fr. 515, 828 (N.).

³ Men. K. 857; cf. Phil. K. 22, 95.

⁴ V. Phil. K. 31; Men. K. 1093.

⁵ Men. K. 370.

⁶ Men. K. 110.

⁷ Men. K. 370.

Euripides
imposture
presumpti
and he is

sometimes
on mercen
So too the
both poets

Eurip
religious b
speculation
which is p
of New Co
too in whi
gorean νοῦ

and a lost p

Menander
on the sam
considering
impressed
of the worl
control alik
and concei
considers i
philosophic
everything.

Euripic
will of the
of the god
account for
Providence,
which presic

¹ *Iph. in Aul.*

² *Id.* 956; *Hel.*

³ *Ion* 374.

⁴ Similar wor
El. 1481, result

⁵ Eur. fr. 963.

⁶ Eur. *Hel.* 728.

⁷ Men. K. 12.

⁸ Eur. *Hip.* 1.

Euripides. To speak first of particulars, Euripides is continually exposing impostures practised in the name of religion. The greed¹ and quackery² and presumption³ of soothsayers and priests are always arousing his hostility;⁴ and he is echoed by Menander, who sometimes quotes his exact words :

μάντις δ' ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,⁵

sometimes recalls them,⁶ and in other passages comments in his own language on mercenary priests and the arrogance of human claims to sway the gods.⁷ So too the rites connected with the worship of Cybele seem to be censured by both poets.⁸

Euripides' disbeliefs are clearly expressed and unmistakable, but his own religious belief is difficult to determine from among the half-suggestions and speculations to be found in the plays and fragments. The vague monotheism, which is perhaps all we can attribute to him, finds expression in the deity of New Comedy, who may be worshipped but not understood.⁹ The passages too in which, characteristically, Euripides develops and deifies the Anaxagorean νοῦς¹⁰ are repeated by Menander. Hecuba prays to

Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν ;

and a lost play declares that

ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός.

Menander adopts the last line for a play of his own, and elsewhere insists on the same doctrine.¹¹ This is one side of Euripides' belief, when he is considering the greatness and independence of man; more often he is impressed by his littleness, and then he questions the divine government of the world,¹² and substitutes for it a blind, impersonal force, beyond the control alike of gods and men. Sometimes he views this power philosophically, and conceives it as 'what must be'—ἀνάγκη, μοῖρα, χρεών; sometimes he considers it solely in its effect upon human affairs, and ἀνάγκη, out of its philosophical setting, becomes τύχη—that Chance which appears to govern everything.

Euripides' τύχη is in the course of development from an expression of the will of the gods into an irresponsible factor in human life; and fate, the ways of the gods, the ways of fortune, are used as interchangeable terms¹³ to account for accidents and coincidences, much as we might refer them to Providence, luck, or chance. Out of this jumble of terms comes the τύχη which presides over the world of New Comedy, a capricious power with little

¹ *Iph. in Aul.* 520.

² *Ib.* 956; *Hel.* 744, fr. 793 (N.).

³ *Ion* 374.

⁴ Similar wording in Sophocles—i.e. *Ant.* 1055, *El.* 1481, results from a very different attitude.

⁵ *Eur. fr.* 963 (N.); *Men. K.* 852.

⁶ *Eur. Hel.* 757; *Men. K.* 225.

⁷ *Men. K.* 129, 319, 245.

⁸ *Eur. Hip.* 106; *Men. K.* 202.

⁹ *Eur. Troad.* 469, 886, fr. 480, 1263, 793; *Phil. K.* 118, 166; *Men. γν. μον.* 474.

¹⁰ *Eur. Troad.* 886, fr. 1007 (N.).

¹¹ *Men. K.* 762, 11, 769, 482.

¹² *Eur. Hec.* 489, fr. 893, 508 *et passim*; cf. *Men. Epitrep.* v. 872.

¹³ *V. Eur. Her. Fur.* 309; *Iph. Taur.* 1486, 476; *Phoen.* 1202; *Alc.* 785, etc.

philosophical connotation. In isolated passages¹ Chance may receive a semi-divinity, but normally it simply personifies the uncertainty of human affairs. Instances are too common to need full illustration. Euripides and New Comedy are full of references to the uncertainty² of a force that defies analysis,³ and the actual words are often the same.⁴ A conviction of the instability of prosperity and happiness led naturally to a doctrine of 'eat, drink, and be merry'; and we find this advice given in two satyric passages of Euripides (*Cycl.* 335 and *Alc.* 788) and elsewhere (e.g. *Suppl.* 953; *Her. Fur.* 503). These last phrases are echoed by Menander,⁵ but the sentiment is a rarer one with him than with his predecessors.⁶ But Chance cannot, without exaggeration, be made responsible for all men's actions; and so we find in Philemon and Menander what amounts to a fixed philosophical belief in *δαίμονες*, which stand for individual character and freewill, and are opposed to the workings of *τύχη* in the world at large. Only the germ of this theory appears in Euripides, and in its New Comedy form the doctrine owes less to him than to Epicharmus, Plato, and Aristotle. It is accordingly not discussed here, and is only mentioned to show that, while *τύχη* was a very important legacy from Euripides to the poets of New Comedy, both he and they found in it only a rough and ready explanation of the unfair distribution of blessings and sorrows; and that for Euripides as for his followers it was a practical rather than a philosophical solution, since to Euripides Chance was only one aspect of a mysterious force; and Menander and Philemon limited its power by a common-sense recognition that man cannot escape all blame for his own actions.

Passing from the social and philosophic theories shared by Euripides and Menander, we come to the subject-matter of their plays. And here the connexion is not only the loose one, that passion and intrigue form the staple diet of New Comedy, and that Euripides led the way by his portraits of brave and loving girls and loyal wives, as well as by his studies of guilty passion and its consequences, as in the *Hippolytus* and *Ion* and many lost plays.⁷ It is true that Euripides was preoccupied with love, and its importance as a moving force in human affairs, in a manner inconceivable in Aeschylus and Sophocles. (Klytaimnestra's adultery in the *Agamemnon*, and Jocaste's incest in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, are not so much studies in passion as events, instances of hatred and unwitting sin, subordinate to the dooms that overhung the houses of Pelops and Labdakos.) But the resemblance can be traced in far greater detail than this. Satyrus, in his life of Euripides, refers to 'τὰ κατὰ τὰς περιπετείας, βιασμούς παρθένων, ὑποβολὰς παιδίων, ἀναγνωρισμούς διὰ τε

¹ Anaxand. K. 4; Phil. K. 111; Men. K. 483.

² Eur. *Hel.* 716; *Orest.* 715; *Ion* 1412, etc.; Men. K. 94, 129, 598.

³ Eur. *Alc.* 785; *Iph. T.* 478; Men. K. 417b, 819.

⁴ Eur. *Herac.* 866; cf. *Diph.* 45; Eur. fr. 553; en. K. 417a.

⁵ μικρόν τι τὸ βίον (Men. K. 410); σμικρὰ τὰ

τοῦ βίου, Eur.

⁶ Philetaer. K. 7, 13; Amphis, K. 21; Alexis, K. 25, 219.

⁷ In the *Ion* it is immaterial whether the violation was nominally the work of a god or of a mortal, since Euripides would hardly accept unquestioningly a supernatural explanation—e.g. *Ion* 1523, and *Bacch.* 28.

δακτυλ
κωμωδί
freely f
while n

Eu
depend
Aeschyl
may ha
orthodo
and su
Euripid
find th
conform
Aigeus,
already
work of
of some
a father
In the
whom s
baby a
which
from c
Πλόκιο
used to

Of
type o
standar
Iph. in
Comed
usually
identifi
form of
piece of
but the
to the
plays of

In
her fath

¹ Od. X
sq.; Sop
Chryses,
² I.e. in
lost *Alcm*
³ V. H
schol. on

δακτυλίων καὶ διὰ δεραίων· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ δῆπου τὰ συνέχοντα τὴν νεώτεραν κωμωδίαν, ἃ πρὸς ἄκρον ἤγαγεν Εὐριπίδης.' New Comedy indeed borrowed so freely from Euripides in this field of τὰ κατὰ τὰς περιπετείας that it is worth while making a rather detailed study to show the extent of the debt.

Euripides was not of course the inventor of plots of which the περιπέτεια depended upon a recognition. Recognition scenes were drawn by Homer and Aeschylus and Sophocles.¹ But, with the exception of Sophocles' *Tyro* (which may have come under Euripidean influence), not one of these followed the orthodox New Comedy pattern of the violation of a girl, exposure of children, and subsequent recognition, as successive stages of one story. It is to Euripides that we must look for a constant recurrence to this theme. Here we find that, in addition to several other recognition scenes,² at least six plays conform to the three-stage type, the *Ion* and five lost plays—the *Auge*, *Melanippe*, *Aigeus*, *Antiope*, and *Alope*.³ The importance of love in New Comedy has already been mentioned; and that the love-interest was often set in a framework of this type is shown both by the extant plays of Menander and the titles of some of the lost ones. In the *Perikeiromene* the recognition scene is between a father and his daughter, whom he had exposed with her brother at birth. In the *Epitrepontes* a girl is violated at a night-festival by a young man to whom she is shortly after married in ignorance; she gives birth secretly to a baby and exposes it, and the child is later ingeniously identified by a ring which is found with it.⁴ The plots of the *Heros*, *Samia*, and *Georgos* arose from circumstances of the same kind; and the titles of other plays—the *Πλόκιον*, *Δακτύλιος*, and *Ἰδρία*—indicate that a necklace, ring, and urn were used to effect a recognition.

Of the various kinds of ἀναγνώρισις mentioned by Aristotle,⁵ it is the last type of recognition by external tokens which Euripides seems to have standardized, and passed on as an important element of New Comedy. The *Iph. in Tauris* shows several interesting points of comparison with New Comedy (*Iph. in Taur.* 810, 812, 817; cf. Men. *Perikeir.* 695); but the plan usually adopted by Menander and his Latin imitators was for a child to be identified by ἀναγνωρίσματα left with it at its exposure, these often taking the form of a receptacle, containing playthings and σπάργανα and wrapped in some piece of clothing or embroidery. The *Epitrepontes* and *Heros* were of this type; but the *Perikeiromene* is the most instructive example, from its close resemblance to the *Ion*, and the evidence it affords of Menander's direct debt to particular plays of Euripides, as well as to his general influence.

In the *Ion* Kreousa was violated by Apollo, and bore a child unknown to her father (ignorance on the part of the rest of the household of such an event

¹ Od. XIX. 386, XXI. 205; Aesch. *Choeph.* 163 sq.; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*, and the lost *Tereus*, *Tyro*, *Chryses*, *Aletes*.

² I.e. in the *Electra* and *Iph. in Tauris*, and the lost *Alcmaeon*, *Kresphontes*, and *Alexander*.

³ V. Hyg. *fab.* 8 and 186; Plut. *Thes.* 12; schol. on *Med.* 167.

⁴ For the situation of a girl violated at a festival, and identifying her child later by a ring received from its father, cf. the *Auge* of Euripides: the debt is, contrary to custom, acknowledged—*Ep.* 911.

⁵ Ar. *Poet.* ch. XVI.

is often assumed in New Comedy). The boy is exposed and carried by Hermes to Delphi, where he is brought up as an acolyte of Apollo. Kreousa comes to Delphi and plots against the boy, whom the oracle declares to be her husband's son. Ion is about to revenge himself when the priestess of the temple, his foster-mother, appears bearing the chest that was found with him. Kreousa knows him for her own son by the chest, and thereupon has to prove herself his mother by enumerating its contents. The same situation is brought about in the *Perikeiromene*. Pataikos, the father of two children, Glykera and Moschion, whom poverty had driven him to expose at birth, happens to see some dress of Glykera's (this is the most probable development of a preserved scene) which arouses his suspicions. He prevails on her to show him a chest which she has treasured from babyhood, and, recognizing the embroidery from it, is convinced that Glykera is his daughter. Then he, too, has to prove his identity by naming the rest of the objects in the chest. In both plays the recognition is brought about by *γνωρίσματα* left with the children at birth, which are named by the parents and checked by the children. The procedure in each scene is much the same, the children refusing to accept as proof what might be only a good guess, and demanding a detailed description of the objects mentioned.¹ There are certain other similarities of diction, e.g. the exclamations of Ion, hearing of his mother, and of Pataikos, imagining his son's death.² The metre and diction of the *Perikeiromene* scene, we may note, are (except for the comic 'asides' of Moschion) almost wholly tragic, and culminate in the tragic language of Pataikos' account of the wreck of his ship.³ The rhetorical phrasing does not sound out of place in a serious and rather emotional context. The *γνωρίσματα* themselves are nearly alike in the two plays. Ion's ἀντίπηξ (v. 338) corresponds with Glykera's ζυγιστήριον (v. 693). The σπάργαλα are on each occasion brought forward in evidence, and a necklace was found with both children. Lastly an embroidered robe that had belonged to the child's mother was used as a wrapping for each set of ornaments.⁴ It is surely intentional, too, that whereas Kreousa speaks of her piece of stuff, embroidered with a gorgon, as 'not perfect, but like the work of an unskilful weaver,' Pataikos seems to find the piece of his wife's embroidery which he is studying showing rather the same level of skill.

'Isn't there a sort of goat on it, or cow, or animal of the kind?'

'It's a stag, dear, not a goat,' he is told by Glykera, more skilled in the conventions of embroidered beasts.

¹ Cf. *Ion* v. 1426:
 ἔστιν τι πρὸς τῷδ', ἢ μόνω τῷδ' εὐτυχεῖς; (Piers.
 εὐστοχεῖς;)
 and *Perik.* 695:
 «ἐν δὲ τούτῳ γ' εὐστοχεῖς· ἐπειπὲ τάνδον.
Ion 1420 (after Kreousa has mentioned a ὕψασμα):
 μορφὴν ἔχον τίν';
 and *Perik.* 697 (after Pataikos has mentioned a
 ζώνη):
 δεῖ σέ μοι, πάτερ,
 ἐνοῦσαν εἰπεῖν εἰκόν' ἐν ζώνῃ τις ἦν.

² Cf. *Ion* 1456:
 ἀλλὰ τὰπίλοιπα τῆς τύχης
 εὐδαιμονοῦμεν, ὡς τὰ πρόσθε δυστυχῆ.
 and *Perik.* 657:
 ἡ δυστυχὴ δὴ τὰπίλοιπα τῶν ἐμῶν.

³ The scene of the wreck—πέλαγοι Αἰγαίης
 ἄλως (*Perik.* v. 686)—is naively borrowed from
 Eurip. *Troad.* v. 98.

⁴ Cf. *Ion*, vv. 126 and 1417, with *Perik.* vv. 633,
 650.

'Well, it has horns, I know that,' he agrees humbly.¹

Menander, then, must have had Euripides clearly in his mind when he wrote the *Perikeiromene*. The other of the two better preserved plays also shows evidence of being constructed partly upon a tragedy of Euripides. Besides the acknowledged resemblance to the lost *Auge* and an unacknowledged borrowing from the *Orestes*,² the *Epitrepontes* owes its title scene to a like passage in Euripides' lost *Alope*. In the *Epitrepontes* Menander elaborates with care a scene in which two slaves resolve to settle by arbitration their dispute for the possession of certain trinkets, belonging to a baby found by one of them and adopted by the other. A certain Smikrines (who is later proved to be the child's grandfather) consents to act as arbitrator, and the debate is carried out with the thoroughness and forensic skill of Euripidean disputants. There is fortunately independent evidence of what we might almost have inferred, that Menander was transferring and working up a situation which had attracted him in some play of his master Euripides. An exactly similar arbitration scene is known³ to have occurred in Euripides' *Alope*, where, as in the *Epitrepontes*, the arbitrator proved to be the baby's grandfather. It may be noted, too, that in each play a torn garment of the mother's served as a clue.⁴

The plots of New Comedy owe much to tragic models for their general construction, and much to the plays of Euripides in particular for details of form. In Old Comedy there was little 'construction' in the sense of welding together the scenes so that each was an organic part of the whole. The lyrical and political interludes imposed a certain form upon comedy, but the intervening scenes had often only the slightest thread of connexion, and their arrangement bore no resemblance to the formal setting out, development, and *dénouement* of plots in tragedy. On the other hand, any of the less fragmentary plays of Menander shows that he, at least, borrowed from tragedy its principles of plot construction, and showed ingenuity in the weaving and unweaving of strands.

So far New Comedy was following tragic, rather than specifically Euripidean, models; but signs of Euripides' influence are to be found in its use of the chorus and prologue. Euripides has been censured both by ancient and modern critics for a certain absence of dramatic illusion which shows itself in his formal openings and in his tendency to isolate the choral lyrics from the main theme of the play. This has been condemned as evidence of slack technique; more probably, Euripides knew that an artificial and conventional element is inseparable from any imitative work, and saw that, the stronger the barrier set up between the important human incidents of the play and its unreal framework, the freer would the main story be from conventional restrictions, and the more realistic could its treatment be.⁵ But whatever the

¹ *Ion* 1419; *Perik.* 646. It is less effective to suppose the pattern faint through age. Moreover, Menander uses the same device in the *Epitrepontes* (v. 171) for a hit at a certain Kleostratos, probably a contemporary artist.

² *V. Epitrep.* v. 695; *Orest.* v. 919.

³ *V. Hyginus, Fab.* 187.

⁴ *Epitrep.* vv. 187, 271.

⁵ The *Troades* may be taken as an extreme instance of this.

reason, one effect was that Euripides' chorus took less 'share in the action' than Sophocles', and so must have inspired and hastened the gradual disuse of the chorus in comedy which naturally accompanied the comparative poverty of fourth-century Athens, and the change in the sphere of comedy to domestic intrigue. The evidence for a speaking chorus in Middle Comedy is inconclusive;¹ in New Comedy, Menander's *Epitrepontes* shows that the chorus, composed of revellers with no speaking part or interest in the plot, merely furnished an interlude between the acts; and elsewhere² *entr'actes* were supplied by the hero's companions, the wedding-guests, or a band of huntsmen. The subordination of the chorus occurred, as has been said, in the course of the natural development of comedy; but the germ of the change is to be found not in Old Comedy but in Euripides.

Turning to the evidence for the use of prologues in New Comedy, we find that Menander and Philemon, and probably many others, used a formal prologue to put the audience in possession of the necessary facts; that the monologue was regularly spoken by some allegorical figure; and that in Menander it was sometimes preceded by a few dialogue scenes to arrest attention. (Of Menander's better preserved plays,³ the *Samia* and *Epitrepontes* have their prologues and first acts missing; the *Heros* opens with a dialogue scene between two slaves, who are followed by the "Ἥρας θεός,⁴ presumably the speaker of a narrative monologue; and the *Perikeiromene*, of which our text begins in the middle of a speech by "Αγνοια, gives an example of an actual prologue.)⁵ Such being the practice in comedy, it is not surprising to find in Euripides the prototypes of narrative monologue by speakers who are outside the main action of the play. In the extant tragedies introductory monologues are spoken by important characters in eight plays,⁶ and by minor characters in three;⁷ in the remaining six or seven tragedies the setting of the play is explained by a god or goddess, either in monologue or dialogue. The speakers have no direct part in the plot, but are connected with it either as unimportant agents outside its real sphere,⁸ or as moving forces illustrated in the working out of the story.⁹ It was these supernatural figures, who 'told the pedigree of the play straight out,'¹⁰ but had no part in its action proper, that provided the models for New Comedy prologues.

One play in particular of Euripides' affords an interesting parallel to Menander's *Heros*, where the speech of the god is preceded by a dialogue scene. Euripides' prologue—everything that comes before the entrance of the

¹ For possible indications of a chorus *v.* Antiph. K. 91, Alex. K. 237, Henioch. K. 586, Timocles K. 25.

² *V. Men. Perikeir., Samia, Heros.*

³ Cf. frag. incert. 545, where the prologue is spoken by "Ελεγχος; *v.* also the Δόσκολος and "Επικληρος of Menander, and cf. Aristoph. *Wasps*, v. 54, *Birds*, v. 30.

⁴ Cf. the Lar Familiaris who takes the part of the prologue in Plautus' *Aulularia*.

⁵ Cf. Phil. K. 164; Adesp. 154.

⁶ *Heracles, Her. Fur., Andr., Iph. Taur., Hel., Phoen., Orest., Bacch.*

⁷ *Med., Suppl., Elektra.*

⁸ Cf. Hermes in the *Ion*, and Poseidon and Athena in the *Troades*.

⁹ *V. the Hippolytus and Alcestis*, where the speakers are the spirit of sexual passion, and the powers of Life and Death.

¹⁰ *Ar. Frogs*, v. 946.

chorus—
Bacchae
anapaes
Aulide
dialogue
between
of the m
dialogue
rearrang
unfinish
sidered
opened
his last
the MS
author
to the t

A f
in the r
which o
intention
phrases
in the d
times m
sophica
Diphilu
him a
Tauris.

Or
already
covered
parodie
Naukle
Troades
and the
is a par
Philem
nurse i

1 The
spurious
England
2 V. so
3 Axio
4 Phil.

chorus—consists of pure monologue only in two plays, the *Supplices* and *Bacchae*. Elsewhere the narrative speech is followed by dialogue, iambic or anapaestic, or by anapaestic, dochmiac, or elegiac threnoi. In the *Iphig. in Aulide* alone the explanatory speech is preceded and followed by anapaestic dialogue. The play as it stands opens with a conversation full of 'atmosphere,' between Agamemnon and his servant, followed by a set speech by Agamemnon of the most formal genealogical type, which is in its turn followed by renewed dialogue with the servant. This introduction has been much criticized and rearranged by editors.¹ There can be no certainty, especially in a play left unfinished at its author's death; but the opening anapaests cannot be considered spurious beyond question, since the lost *Andromeda* is said to have opened with anapaestic monologue,² and it would be rash to say that even in his last play Euripides had ceased to experiment. At least the evidence for the MS. text must be considered in connexion with the *Heros*, a play by an author strongly influenced by Euripides, and with an opening similar in form to the traditional opening of the *Iphigeneia in Aulide*.

A final convincing proof of the wide influence of Euripides is to be found in the references, quotations, parodies, and verbal similarities in New Comedy which can be traced back to the tragedies. Often the borrowing was clearly intentional; sometimes it may have been an unconscious echo of well-known phrases; for even without direct transcription the style of Euripides is evident in the diction and turns of speech of New Comedy poets. Euripides is several times mentioned by name, in reference to his general popularity,³ his philosophical views,⁴ or his phrasing of a certain line;⁵ and one of the characters of Diphilus, in proof of Euripides' affection for parasites, pretends to repeat from him a passage⁶ compounded from the *Antiope*, imagination, and the *Iph. in Tauris*.

One probable parody of Euripides, in Menander's *Perikeiromene*, has already been noted, and many even in the extant fragments may be undiscovered because the Euripidean originals are lost. Two more undoubted parodies by Menander may be mentioned. Theophilus, the hero of the *Naukleros*, is introduced in the very words of Poseidon, in the first line of the *Troades*:

ἦκει (Eur. ἦκω) λιπὼν Αἰγαῖον ἄλμυρον βάθος—

and the line οὐκ ἔστι μοιχοῦ πρᾶγμα τιμιώτερον

is a parody of οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆς κτῆμα τιμιώτερον.⁷

Philemon, too, in a cook's soliloquy, parodies the pretext upon which the nurse in the *Medea* delivers the prologue:

ὥς ἡμέρος μ' ὑπῆλθε γῇ τε κούρανῳ

λέξαι μολόντι τοῦψον ὥς ἐσκεύασα.⁸

¹ The first set of anapaests is condemned as spurious (G. Murray) or displaced (Hermann, England).

² V. schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1065.

³ Axion K. 3.

⁴ Phil. K. 130.

⁵ Diph. K. 60; Phil. K. 18; Men. *Epitrep.* v. 911.

⁶ Diph. K. 73; cf. Eur. *Ant.* fr. 187; *Iph. Taur.* v. 535.

⁷ Men. K. 336; cf. Eur. fr. 1016.

⁸ Phil. K. 79; cf. Eur. *Med.* 57.

Many resemblances of thought and phrasing between Euripides and Menander have been quoted in connexion with their realism,¹ and their views on divination² and τύχη;³ and elsewhere too the gist of a passage in Euripides reappears in a slightly different form in Menander.⁴ But often the resemblance is a closer one, and a line from Euripides is literally transcribed by Menander, in accordance with the recognized rules of literary piracy, or borrowed with very little change.⁵ Other lines have become slightly altered in transcription;⁶ and one passage is neither a parody nor a transcription from a single tragedy, but a comic jumble of a number of Euripidean phrases. In Demeas' mock-heroic outburst in the *Samia* (vv. 113-114):

ὦ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός,
ὦ ταναὸς αἰθήρ, ὦ . . .

we can detect echoes of several plays⁷ of Euripides, where occur the phrases 'πόλισμα Παλλάδος,' 'Κεκροπίαν χθόνα,' 'τὸν ταναὸν αἰθέρα.'

In the few thousand lines that remain to us of Menander, there are thus passages quoted, or directly derived, from nearly twenty tragedies of Euripides. The range is a wide one, in view of the small proportion of verbal resemblances which we are in a position to recognize, and shows the extent of Menander's debt to Euripides in the expression of his thoughts, no less than in the spirit underlying them.

BEDFORD COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

M. ANDREWES.

¹ *Androm.* v. 330; cf. *Men.* K. 669.

² *Eur.* fr. 963; *Hel.* 766; *Hip.* 106; cf. *Men.* K. 852, 225, 202.

³ *Eur.* fr. 553; cf. *Men.* K. 417; v. *Eur. Her.* 866; cf. *Diph.* 45.

⁴ On rich and domineering wives, v. *Eur.* fr. 504; *El.* 932; and *Men.* frag. incert. 57, K. 484; and on the relation of virtue to high birth, v. *Eur.* fr. 336, and *Men.* γν. μιν. 20.

⁵ The following lines and phrases occur on good authority in Euripides, and are also attributed to Menander (only those fragments are included which Kock in his edition classes as genuine. The list might be largely extended by the inclusion of verses wrongly or doubtfully attributed to Menander):

οὐκ ἔστι βίον εὐρεῖν ἄλυτον οὐδενός.

Eur. fr. 872; cf. *Men.* K. 411.

μάτην ἄρ' οἱ γέροντες εὐχονται θανεῖν,
γῆρας ψέγοντες καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον βίου.

(*Men.* πολυχρόνιον βίου)

Eur. *Alc.* 668; *Men.* K. 713.

ἔξωθεν εἰσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες εὐφροεῖν (*Men.* εὐτυχεῖν)
λαμπροί, τὰ δ' ἔνδον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι.

Eur. *Ana.* 330; *Men.* K. 669.

μάντις τᾶριστος ὅστις εἰκάσει καλῶς.

Eur. fr. 963; *Men.* K. 852.

ὅστις δ' ὁμῶν ἤδεται.

Eur. fr. 809; *Men.* K. 414.

πῆλαγος Αἰγαίας ἁλός.

Eur. *Troad.* 88; *Perikheir.* 688.

Another line,

φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρηστὸν ὁμῶμαι κακαί,
(*Men.* K. 218)

is several times quoted as from Menander, and once (*Socrat. Hist. Eccl.* 3) attributed to Euripides.

⁶ v. 1. ἔστιν δὲ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος μᾶλλον πατὴρ·
ἢ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς οἶδεν υἱόν, ὃ δ' οἶσται.

Men. K. 65; cf. *Eur.* fr. 1004.

2. πῶς οὖν ἐχωρίσθητ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διχα;
Men. *Perikheir.* 666; cf. *Eur.* fr. 484.

3. τόλμη δικάει καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.
Men. K. 572; cf. *Eur.* fr. 435.

4. ἀκέραιος, ἀνεπίπληκτος αὐτὸς τῷ βίῳ.
Men. *Epitrep.* 695; cf. *Eur.* *Or.* 922.

5. χρεῖα διδάσκει κἂν ἄμουςος ἢ σοφόν.
Men. K. 263; cf. *Eur.* fr. 666, 709.

6. τὰ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς
Men. K. 320; cf. *Eur.* *Iph.* in *Taur.* 467.

7. κεράννυνται
θυμᾶν, ἀνέπταται τε θυμᾶθ' Ἡφαίστου βίῳ.
Men. *Sam.* v. 471; cf. *Eur.* *Iph.* in *Taur.* 1602.

8. λύπη ἰατρὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις λόγος.
Men. K. 559; cf. *Eur.* fr. 1064.

9. ὁ πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχων
μάντις τᾶριστος ἐστὶ σύμβουλος θ' ἅμα.
Men. K. 225; cf. *Eur.* *Hel.* 766.

10. ταδ' ἔχοντα γράμματα
τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐ σφόδρ' εὐσημον ποιεῖ.
Men. K. 381; cf. *Eur.* *Hip.* 385.

⁷ *V. Med.* 771, *Iph.* in *Taur.* 1014; *Hip.* 34, *Ion* 1571; *Orest.* 322.

ANCHISES AND APHRODITE.

THIS ancient tale has naturally been recognized by modern scholars for what it is—a story of the Great Mother and her paramour;¹ but several features appear to me to have been given less examination than they deserve, in view of their own peculiarity and the obvious antiquity of the myth.

That it is pre-Greek is fairly clear from the names of the principal actors. *Anchises* yields no tolerable meaning in Greek, and we do not know to what speech it belongs—possibly Phrygian. *Aphrodite* is, of course, no Greek goddess at all. The tale was known to Greek saga-men about the tenth century B.C.,² and is fully told for the first time, so far as our surviving records go, in a document possibly of the seventh century—the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*.³ Connected as it is, though loosely, with the Troy-saga, it may quite possibly go back to Minoan-Mycenaean times, as that does.⁴ The features which I think worthy of further investigation are the fate of Anchises after his enjoyment of the goddess' favours, and in particular the effect upon him of the thunderbolt with which he was smitten.

The Hymn will have to be referred to several times, so a brief synopsis of its more important parts will be in place. Zeus, to prevent Aphrodite having the laugh over all other deities, causes her to fall in love with Anchises, 'who at that time was tending cattle on the topmost hills of Ida of the many springs, being in form like unto the Deathless Ones' (ver. 53; *θεῶν ἀπο κάλλος ἔχοντα*, ver. 77). She therefore makes ready, comes to Ida, where all the beasts fawn upon her, and meets Anchises, whom she tells that she is the daughter of the King of Phrygia, and brought to him as his bride by Hermes. Despite some feigned modesty on her part, he at once accomplishes his and her desires, and later she resumes her true shape, and awakes him to declare who she is. He begs, not that she will spare his life, but that she will not make him live *ἀμενηνός*, for, he says, he is not a lusty man—*οὐ βιοθάλμιος*—that has trespassed in the bed of a goddess. She reassures him, tells him that she will

¹ As by Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, I., col. 2109: 'Hingegen (to the uncertain etymology of the name) steht fest, das er (Anchises) zu den namentlich in Kleinasien einheimischen Lieblingen der Aphrodite gehört.'

² See B 820, E 313. Hes. *Theog.* 1008 apparently follows the former passage. I do not stop to argue the question of the unity of authorship of the Homeric poems, which seems to me past all reasonable doubt.

³ For its date see Sikes and Allen, p. 198 of their edition of the Hymns.

⁴ The coincidence of all the principal cycles of Greek myth (save that of Odysseus on Ithaca, which is not myth or saga at all) with the sites of Cretan or Mycenaean culture has been acutely pointed out by Dr. M. P. Nilsson (see *Der mykenische Ursprung der griechischen Mythologie*, in *Festschrift für Wachernagel*, shortly to be published by Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen), with whose views I agree, and to whose courtesy I am indebted for a sight of his article in proof.

bear him a son, who shall be brought to him when four years old, and warns him not to tell who the child's mother is,

εἰ δέ κεν ἐξείπῃς . . .
 Ζεὺς σε χολωσάμενος βαλεῖ ψολοέντι κεραυνῷ.

Here the 'Homeric' story ends, but not before it has introduced one feature, the action of Zeus in starting the whole affair, which neither Homer, Hesiod, nor the authority followed by Apollodoros¹ mentions at all. It is clearly no part of the real myth, being just such a thoroughly human motive as the Ionians, and after them the Alexandrians, loved to ascribe to the deities in their half-serious handling of them. Later writers go on to say that Anchises did not keep the tabu (anyone acquainted with folk-tales might have known he would not), and the thunderbolt was duly hurled. But as to the result authorities differ. Only one, Hyginus, makes it fatal; Vergil shows us Anchises alive but stricken,

iampridem inuisus diuis et inutilis annos
 demoror, ex quo me diuom pater atque hominum rex
 fulminis afflauit uentis et contigit igni (*Aen.* II. 647),

i.e. ἀμενής, as the Anchises of the Hymn prayed that he might not be. The pseudo-Servius explains that Aphrodite mercifully deflected the thunderbolt; Servius, on *Aen.* I. 617, that he was blinded. Hyginus has apparently no really old tradition behind him (see Rossbach, *l.c.* 2107; cf. Wörner in Roscher's *Lexikon* I., cols. 338-339), for Anchises' escape from Troy on the shoulders of Aineias is a very ancient story. We may take it, then, that he was not killed or not permanently killed; as a lover of the Magna Mater he may (like Attis and Adonis) have suffered a temporary death, but, if so, we know nothing of the story in its original form or the consequent ritual.

That he was the lover of a deity closely corresponding to the Magna Mater is clear enough. He meets his divine mistress within Kybele's own domain,² and he has one outstanding characteristic of her lovers—that he is a handsome herdsman. One need only think of Attis, Paris, and Endymion (for Selene has surely usurped the place of some Astarte-like deity here), and of Adonis the handsome hunter (or shepherd, Theokr. I. 109), to see this. That Aphrodite is the πότνια θηρῶν in one of her many forms is not quite forgotten by the writer of the Hymn, who makes the beasts throng adoring about her.

It must therefore be remembered that we need not stop at Phrygia nor in Asia Minor for parallels to this myth. The more we learn of the ethnology and early cults of the Eastern Mediterranean, the more abundantly clear it becomes that a great goddess of fertility, animal and vegetable, was the

¹ *Bibliotheca*, III. 141: Aphrodite acts δι' ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, and nothing is said of any further cause.

² She is at home in Pessinus, the Phrygian tableland, the region of the Hellespont, B thynia

and Pontus, both banks of the Maeander, and S. and E. from Phrygia until she meets Iranian and Semitic influence (see Graillet, *Culte de Cybèle*, Ch. X.).

univers
 races—
 is calle
 Ariadn
 matter
 indepe
 knowle
 or soci
 of her
 normal
 nothing
 and th
 the ma
 but car
 he is o
 a hum
 a god
 Anchis
 inscrip
 his sup
 the na
 origina
 occur
 Briton
 at Am
 panton
 her, w
 of Dic
 reconc
 legend
 W
 of Att
 appear
 predom
 definit
 ahead
 This i
 never
 wound
 and th
 not ex

¹ See
 S.M.

² Par

universal object of worship for Cretan, Anatolian, and the various invading races—Thracian, Phrygian, Hittite, Semite, and finally Greek. Whether she is called Kybele, or Allilat, or Ishtar, or Artemis, or Zemelo, or Aphrodite, or Ariadne, or has no name that we can recover—perhaps none at all—is a minor matter; and the question whether her cult spread from one centre or arose independently in a score of places seems insoluble in our present state of knowledge. Certainly she appears to have nothing to do with either race or social organization. Of this also we can be fairly sure—that in every form of her cult which we know anything about she is provided with a male partner, normally far inferior to herself, and having for his function in many cases nothing but the task of enabling her to conceive. That he is an afterthought, and that the goddess dates back to a far remote time when the part played by the male in procreation was quite unknown, is indeed a plausible hypothesis, but cannot be said to rest on cogent evidence. It thus is natural enough that he is often not quite a god. Attis is probably divine in origin, and made into a human youth by later fancy, chiefly that of the Greeks, who were puzzled by a god dying; but Endymion has no divine attributes as we know him,¹ and Anchises has just a faint trace of worship. Aphrodite is called Anchisias in an inscription from Ilium Nouum, and there was a cult or two of him at some of his supposed graves.² But the most curious example of the hesitancy as to the nature of the goddess' consort comes from Naxos. That Ariadne was originally a goddess and no heroine is, I think, pretty clear both from her occurrence in the territory of the great Cretan goddess, of whom she, like Britomartis, would seem to be a 'faded' form, and by her extraordinary ritual at Amathus in Crete, where she is called Aphrodite Ariadne, and in her rites a pantomime of child-birth is gone through.³ The Naxians, who also worshipped her, went so far as to declare that there must be two Ariadnes, one the bride of Dionysos and the other of Theseus; obviously a desperate attempt to reconcile the, to them, contradictory indications furnished by her ritual and legend.

What lies behind all this is no doubt in all cases a god of the general type of Attis, who is a vegetation daimon, dying and rising again, and therefore appears to the Greeks now as a god, now as a hero, one character or the other predominating in different regions or different legends. But as we enter definitely Oriental territory we find a characteristic besides those mentioned already, which is common to many of the goddess' lovers—they are eunuchs. This is too well known to need demonstration in the case of Attis. Adonis is never actually represented as castrated, but it is noteworthy that he dies of a wound in the thigh, which, considering the euphemistic meaning of *μηροί*⁴ and the fact that his death is represented as quite rapid, suggests that we have not exactly the original tale as it was told of Tammuz. If we go north-east we

¹ See the article of von Sybel in Roscher, *s.v.*

² Plut. *Theseus*, 20.

³ See Aesch., frags. 134, 135, Nauck.

⁴ Particulars in Wörner, *op. cit.*, col. 339.

find the great goddess of the Iranian Scythians served by eunuchs, much as Kybele was.¹

Now it is a curious fact that Anchises is definitely afraid of something which is not death, but some kind of life-in-death, and that the doom which he says overtakes anyone in his position is that he is not βιοθάλμος. With this we may couple the fact that very little is said of him as husband or father apart from Aphrodite and Aineias. He has one other son, Lyros, also by Aphrodite, according to Apollodoros, *l.c.* It is noteworthy that the Great Mother sometimes bears two children (thus Ariadne is the mother of Oinopion and Staphylos, *Plut. l.c.*); he is just mentioned as having a wife and a daughter in a single passage of Homer (*N.* 428 sqq.), and Homer may generally be trusted to make a sacral hero into an ordinary, fully human one. Save that the scholiasts find or invent a name, Eriopis, for his wife, and Naevius casually mentions her (*ap. Serv. on Aen.* III. 10), we know nothing about her. I suggest that she has no existence in the original story, which represented Anchises as being as cold (to all but Aphrodite) as Adonis himself.

Now it is a curious and paradoxical thing that a goddess of fertility should be worshipped by the infertile, and it seems to me that only two explanations are possible. One, which for a time I adopted, is that because the goddess is female her worshippers make themselves as nearly female as possible. This is quite in keeping with the general tendency, in mystic cults, to seek assimilation with the deity, but it is open to the serious objection that the Great Mother had no need to be worshipped by artificial females when real ones were to hand; the Galli could, one would think, have been replaced with advantage by women or girls, such, for instance, as worshipped Artemis of Brauron. The other explanation, derived from ritual facts, on which Grailot rightly lays some stress,² is, I think, the true one: her worshippers are eunuchs because they have given her all their fertility. *Macte esto* is a Roman formula, but not a merely Roman idea; the worshipper is indeed benefited by the god, but so also is the god by the worshipper (see the excellent discussion by van Leeuw of 'Die do-ut-des-Formel' in *Arch. f. Relig.* for 1921, p. 241 sqq., and the classical treatment of the matter by Warde Fowler in *Religious Experience of the Roman People*). As at the Fordicidia the reproductive power which the cow is not allowed to use (in the shape of her unborn calf) is given to Tellus (*Telluri plenae uictima plena datur*, says Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 634, with substantial accuracy), so in a much more horrible rite the adorers of the Great Mother give her their reproductive powers. It is from the East, it would seem, that the idea, afterwards prominent in Christian theology, of entire and unreserved consecration to

¹ See Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 105, and Plate XXIII., and his whole discussion of the cults of that region, *ibid.*, and in *Rév. ét. gr.*, t. XXXII., p. 462 sqq.; Herod. IV. 67; Hippokr. *de aere aquis locis*, p. 561, Kühn.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 156. Cf. the legends recorded by Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, and Pausanias, conveniently collected by Hepding, *Attis*, p. 31 sqq. Legend and ritual alike show the *vires* to be magically potent and desired by the goddess.

a deity
mystic
of deb
husban
fertil
of rep
lying
victim

I
of the
of anc
Ouran
stories
Heave
about
(2) A
which
wholly
ment v
story
confus

T
Anchi
him t
modic
Europ
abund
recolle
contin
exists
where
Ariad
Sicuh
was th
immor
out e
Europ
divine

¹ For
infants
from th
of fresh
life. A
sacrific
A, in o
of B.

a deity comes; it is not surprising to find a limited and savage form of this mystic doctrine in the cult of the Great Mother, that extraordinary mixture of debasing superstition and transcendentalism, as it was in later days. The husbands of the goddess do not simply play their part in the process of fertility, they expend upon that union all that they have or ever will have of reproductive power. It is parallel to that well-known magical idea underlying much human sacrifice and the like, according to which the life of the victim is absorbed into the greater life of some superhuman power.¹

I am inclined to think that in one of the most curious and most unhellenic of the myths which have come down to us we have a confused recollection of another story growing out of this practice—I refer to the mutilation of Ouranos. I would see in the familiar Hesiodic account a conflation of two stories: (1) The widespread myth (it reaches as far as New Zealand) of how Heaven and Earth were separated to make room for other beings to walk about between them. Kronos in this part of the tale is the Greek Maui. (2) A quite different story of the type of the legend of Kybele and Attis, in which Earth has some other and much inferior husband, whose virility is wholly sacrificed in her service. To a Greek, familiar throughout his development with the concept of the sky-father mated to the earth-mother, the former story was intelligible, the latter only imperfectly so. Hence conflation and confusion.

There remains now the other curious circumstance in the legend of Anchises—the incident of the thunderbolt which does not kill him, but leaves him to live to a good old age, and receive honourable burial and some modicum at least of cult. The general conception of the thunderbolt in European belief is that it is a destroying missile. Examples will be found in abundance in Blinkenberg's useful compilation, *The Thunderweapon*. We may recollect that, to take prominent myths from the north and the south of the continent, Thor and Zeus use it to overcome hostile giants. But there exists another idea, and it is noteworthy that it is to be found in a district where a cult of a Great Mother flourished—namely, Naxos, whose worship of Ariadne has already been mentioned. The Naxians say, according to Diodorus Siculus (V. 32), that the reason why Semele was smitten with the thunderbolt was that Dionysos might be the child, not of a god and a mortal, but of two immortals. To this legend Ovid alludes in the *Fasti*, as I have briefly pointed out elsewhere.² It is worth noting also that one people, geographically European, but almost certainly of Asiatic origin, the Etruscans, not only divined from thunder, but had a ritual for evoking it, and that the Romans,

¹ For example, the notorious sacrifice of infants to Melqart at Carthage seems to result from the assumption that the god needs a supply of fresh, unworn life to sustain his own immortal life. A simpler form of this is the Alkestis-sacrifice in its many ramifications in folklore: A, in order to live longer, appropriates the life of B. *Deme meis annis et demptos adde parenti*,

suggests Jason to Medea (Ov. *Met.* VII. 168). In view of the orgiastic character of the rites under discussion, it is worth noting that lunatics not infrequently have, besides the tendency to suicide, a perverse desire for self-mutilation. See Hastings, *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, art. *SUICIDE*.

² See *Class. Rev.* XXXVI. (1922), p. 116, note on *Fast.* III. 715; Rohde, *Psyche*, I., p. 324.

their pupils in this matter, regarded the victim of lightning as *sacer*, too full of *mana* to be lightly touched or approached. I may also mention that Demeter and Isis, two of the most prominent representatives of the Great Mother, have attached to them in Greek mythology the notion that, if an arrangement could be made by which someone could survive burning by ordinary fire, he would become immortal.¹ On this, however, I would not lay too much stress, for a variant of the same tale attaches to Thetis, and another has come by way of a local rite to be a famous, if relatively late, episode in the Herakles-saga.²

Apart from public cult and from legend, we have an interesting survival of this conception of thunder in the inscription of Thyateira in Lydia (Kaibel, 320), which runs as follows:

Αὐτὸς Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος αἰθέρι ναίων
 σῶμα πυρὶ φλέξας στέρνων ἐξείλετο θυμόν·
 οὐκ ἤμην βροτός· ἰθὺ παρέστην μητέρι σεμνῇ
 νυκτὶ μελαινοτάτῃ ἐρμηνεύουσα τὰδ' οὕτως·
 μήτηρ Μελιτίνη, θρήνον λίπε, παῦε γόοιο,
 ψυχῆς μνησαμένη, ἦν μοι Ζεὺς τερπικέραννος
 τεύξας ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἡματα πάντα
 ἀρπάξας ἐκόμισσ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα.

Here the dead woman, having been killed by lightning, is definitely claimed as divine, and it is stated in so many words that the manner of her death rendered her so. If we go from the east to the west of the Greek world we get the curious tale of Empedokles' attempt at self-deification by jumping into Aetna. It is a commonplace of popular Greek belief that the fires of Aetna, and of volcanoes in general, are divine, whether because of their connexion with the workshop of Hephaistos, or because they come from the flame of the thunderbolt wherewith the giant who lies beneath the mountain was struck down. Is this what was in the mind of Empedokles, if he really ended himself in such a fashion, or if he did not, then in the imagination of whoever invented the story?³

I therefore suggest that originally the thunderbolt was not meant to do Anchises any harm at all, and was no punishment for vain babbling or any other offence, but that he was touched with celestial fire, perhaps before, not after, his meeting with Aphrodite, to make him more than mortal and a more fitting consort for her.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES,
 ABERYSTWYTH.

H. J. ROSE.

¹ Hom. *Hymn. Cer.* 233 sqq.; Plut. *de Is. et Os.*, ch. 16.

² This has now been finally cleared up by Nilsson; see his articles *Der Flammentod des Herakles auf dem Oite*, *Arch. f. Rel.*, 1922, p. 310 sqq., and *Herakles in Nordisk tidsskrift*, 1923, p. 119 sqq. The notion is a latecomer into the

story of Herakles, but early in itself. I am not sure that the practice of cremation may not have owed something to the desire to give the corpse the heat (i.e. life) which it obviously lacked.

³ The suicide in historical times of Peregrinus is clearly a deliberate imitation of Herakles.

PHILIP V. AND PHTHIA.

CONTEMPORARY inscriptions prove practically beyond doubt that Philip V. was the son of Demetrius II. and of the Epeirót princess Phthia.¹ But historians have always² started from Eusebius' statement (I, 237 Schoene) that he was the son of Chryseis, a Thessalian captive whom Demetrius married and who afterwards married Doson, and have tried to fit other things in with Eusebius. Now it does not much matter to us which of two unknown women was Philip's mother; but it does matter how we approach our evidence, and we *must* start from the contemporary evidence and work downward, not *vice versa*. I need not here go through all the different theories based on the late evidence; what I am going to do is first to examine the inscriptions, which has not yet been done in this connexion, and then explain how Eusebius' blunder arose;³ for even if a definite statement be certainly wrong, we want to know how it got there.

I.G. 11², 1299 = Syll.³ 485 (first decree for Aristophanes). In common with almost all scholars now,⁴ I regard Kolbe's attribution of this decree to the reign of Demetrius II., 239-229, as certain; the references to the war cannot be made to fit Demetrius I. The war has continued for at least four years—Lysias, Cimon, [Ecphantus], and the year of the decree; but the decree may be two or three years later than [Ecphantus]. I use the Ferguson-Kirchner dating of I.G. 11²: Lysias, 238/7; Cimon, 237/6 (so also Kolbe); [Ecphantus], 236/5. The only alternative now, which I do not agree with, is Johnson's, who puts them all one year earlier⁵ (which makes no difference to my argument). The decree consequently cannot be earlier than 235/4—i.e. in the middle of Demetrius' reign. (We shall see that it is probably rather later.) In the January last before the decree—i.e. January 235 at the earliest, some four years after Demetrius' accession—Aristophanes has sacrificed for king Demetrius, queen Phthia, and their children, the formula (l. 10) being *ὑπὲρ . . . τοῦ βασιλέως [Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης [Φθίας] καὶ τῶν*

¹ Strictly speaking, of a queen of Demetrius' whose name has five letters in the genitive. But the name is not in doubt.

² Droysen alone, III. (1)², p. 400, n. 1, does say that Philip was son of Demetrius and an Epeirót princess. But his later definite statement that Chryseis was his mother [III. (2)², p. 52] shows that this may only be a slip. The modern evidence was, of course, not available to Droysen.

³ It would be worth compiling a complete list of the confusions in late writers as to names and relationships. It would show once for all how

unscientific it is to use them as evidence for details.

⁴ Beloch alone stood out for Demetrius I. He has been followed by Costanzi, *Δημητριάδης πόλεμος*, in Beloch's *Festschrift, Saggi di storia antica*, 1910; but Costanzi has no new arguments, and does not even consider the war. I know of no other dissentient; it remains to be seen what view Beloch's forthcoming second edition will take.

⁵ *The Creation of the Tribe Ptolemais*, A.J. Phil., 34, 1913, 381 sqq., to which I refer throughout.

ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν. A grant, in Greece as in England, could be and regularly was made to a man and his issue when as yet he had none, but you did not offer sacrifice for non-existent persons; consequently at the date of this sacrifice Phthia was queen with at least two children. But the decree itself, I. 36, praises Aristophanes for his goodwill toward king Demetrius (the name being here preserved) and his children—τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ; at the date of the decree, therefore, Phthia was dead,¹ and had died, at earliest, sometime between January 235 and July 234. Her death precludes us from adopting the otherwise simple hypothesis that Phthia and Chryseis were two names of the same woman.

Now it is quite certain that Philip was born in 238.² It is equally certain, and no one doubts, that he was legitimate. Beloch's argument, that otherwise Doson would have had the better claim, and his actions would not be comprehensible, suffices; but I may add that, had Philip been illegitimate, Polybius' Aetolians, in their indictments of him, must have made capital of the fact. It is also certain that a Macedonian king in 239 could not have had two legitimate queens at once;³ the time for that was long past. And there is no real difficulty about the marriages of Demetrius II. It is pretty certain now that his marriage to Stratonice was in some way connected with the Stratoniceia at Delos, founded in 253; that he was unmarried at the time of the Nicaea episode, 247, and that Stratonice therefore was no longer his wife; and that he did not marry Nicaea.⁴ He could therefore have married Phthia any time after *circa* 246. When he succeeded in 239 he was about thirty-six; if not already married he must, of course, have married immediately on his accession, which would agree with Philip's age. But for Eusebius and the other late evidence which will be noticed there could be no possible doubt, on the above, that Philip was the eldest son of Demetrius and Phthia, and one of the children mentioned in I.G. 11², 1299; and that, consequently, his boasted relationship to Alexander (Polyb. 5, 10, 10) was, on the mother's side, perfectly true.

We must now look at the Athenian decrees of about this period which show erasures of Antigonid names, and see how they bear on the above conclusion; they are I.G. 11², 775, 776, 780, and 790.⁵ No. 775 (archon Lysiades) need not detain us, as every one places it late in Gonatas' reign:

¹ Dead, not divorced, otherwise the decree could not have praised Aristophanes for his sacrifice for her.

² Polyb. 4, 5, 3; 24, 1. Corradi's attempt (*Sulla data della nascita di Filippo V.*, *Riv. di filol.* 37, 1909, 373) to place Philip's birth later by using Porphyry and Justin against Polybius was quite misconceived.

³ I note that Corradi, *Gli ultimi Aeacidi*, *Atti Acc. Torino*, 1912, 192, is of a contrary opinion.

⁴ See my *Antigonos Gonatas*, 370, n. 4. Kolbe would put the Nicaea episode somewhat later, *G.G.A.*, 1916, 471 sqq.; but this, even if correct,

would not affect the argument. Ferrabino's recent scheme (*Il problema dell' unità nazionale nella Grecia Antica*, Vol. I.: *Avato di Scione*, 1921, p. 290) takes little account of the evidence.

⁵ These erasures have been specifically studied by Johnson, *op. cit.* (see also *Class. Phil.* 9, 1914, 435, and *A.J. Phil.* 39, 1918, 168). He thought he could distinguish the formulae for Gonatas and Demetrius II. by their length; this is impossible, for in the five inscriptions which I have cited there are five different lengths of formulae, inclusive of the two in No. 1299.

247/6
ways
[καὶ π
τοῦ βα
outsid
is und
formu
while
ended

I.
and re
the tw
a fema
Callim
looked
no. 12
after P
belong
and K
filling
restorat
'Αντιγό
some d
even th
patrony
(Callim
as to it
formula
circa 24
Wilamo
placing
would b

I.G.
and the
by Kircl
[Φίλας κ
reign, *cir*
and John

¹ If Δημ
βα]σιλέως
Δημητρίου—
tionally cer
cannot con
whether De
does mean
Roussel's n

247/6, Ferguson, Kirchner, Johnson; 242-240, Kolbe. There are two proposed ways of filling the gap for Gonatas' reign: Wilamowitz', adopted in *I.G.* 11², [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας], and Johnson's, [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ]. Wilamowitz' uses the very outside possible number of letters, but if Lysiaes belongs to Gonatas' reign it is undoubtedly correct; for as Gonatas in 247/6 had only one son living, the formula in his case (as it deals with existing persons) cannot refer to children,¹ while no. 780 shows, as we shall see, that in his case the formula at this time ended with the queen's name.

I.G. 11², 780 (archon Callimedes). The gap is longer than that in no. 775, and requires sixty to sixty-two letters, with an absolute minimum, if we take the two shortest lines of the decree, of fifty-eight; and the last word was a female name in the genitive, as the letter Σ remains. Johnson, who put Callimedes in 235/4, restored the formula of no. 1299, l. 10; but he overlooked the Σ, which makes his restoration impossible; and as we know from no. 1299 that the formula in the reign of Demetrius II., both before and after Phthia's death, ended with a reference to 'children,' no. 780 cannot belong to Demetrius' reign at all; the date 246/5, where Ferguson, Kirchner, and Kolbe place Callimedes, must be correct. I have tried many ways of filling the gap, which in *I.G.* 11² is left blank, and am satisfied that the restoration I gave in *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 389, is correct: [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας], sixty letters. I felt some doubt as to the use of Antigonos' patronymic so long after his accession, even though it was part of his official style;² but I need not have, for the patronymic actually occurs in *I.G.* 11², 777, a broken fragment of the same (Callimedes') year, which gives βασιλέως Δημ. . . , and there seems no rule as to its use.³ We get, then, the rule at Athens that, while the sacrificial formula for Demetrius II. ended with a reference to children, that for Gonatas, circa 247-245, ended with the queen's name; incidentally, this guarantees Wilamowitz' restoration of no. 775, unless some reason can ever be found for placing Lysiaes in Demetrius' reign after Phthia's death, when the formula would be that of no. 1299, l. 36.

I.G. 11², 776. The archon is unknown, but part of the formula remains, and the reference to children is certain. This shows that the restoration given by Kirchner in *I.G.* 11², [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φίλας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν], and his attribution of this decree to Gonatas' reign, circa 246, are alike wrong; it certainly belongs to that of Demetrius II., and Johnson was certainly correct in restoring the formula of no. 1299, l. 10,

¹ If Δημητρίου in *I.G.* XI. 4, 1215—[ἐπὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ βασιλίσσης Φίλας καὶ Δημητρίου]—be the crown prince, it becomes additionally certain that the formula for Gonatas cannot contain a reference to 'children.' But whether Demetrius here, in this strange form, does mean the crown prince is doubtful (see Roussel's note).

² *I.G.* XI. 4, 1095, 1096; XI. 3, 298 A, l. 85 sqq. (unpublished; see my *Antigonos Gonatas* 381, n. 33).

³ Demetrius II. is given his patronymic in treaties (*A.J. Arch.*, 1897, 188, no. 17), while Doson is not (*A.J. Arch.*, 1896, 583; *G.D.I.* 5043), though it was part of his official style (*I.G.* XI. 4, 1097).

[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης] [Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν]. What year it belongs to cannot be said, except that it must be earlier than the year of no. 1299—i.e. than Phthia's death.

I.G. 11², 790 (a. Lysanias). We are now in a position to learn something from this difficult decree, the erasure in which has never been restored.¹ It demands fifty-five letters, but the lines, though written stoichedon, are not all of equal length, and fifty-six is possible. Lysanias is dated 235/4 by Ferguson, Kirchner, and Johnson, 247/6 by Kolbe. One might restore the gap either as [καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Φίλας] (fifty-five letters) if it belongs to Gonatas' reign, or as [καὶ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν] (fifty-five letters) if to Demetrius, the omission of the σ in βασιλίσ(σ)ης being guaranteed by the almost contemporary case in no. 776. But I feel certain that neither is correct, as I do not see how, in an Athenian decree, one can omit the definite articles before the titles of the king and queen, as though it were in a dedication. Certainly other cities often omitted the definite article in decrees, as a glance through O.G.I.S. will show; but though Athens could omit both article and title in the case of kings who were enemies or barbarians, I have not found any case of Athens giving the title and omitting the article, and as the two Athenian decrees of this period where part of the formula usually erased has been preserved, I.G. 11², 776 and 1299, both have the definite article, and as I.G. 11², 780, cannot be restored without including it, and as Athenian practice was likely to be punctilious, I do not see how to restore the erasure in no. 790 from the practice of other cities. If this be correct, then there is no way of filling up no. 790 for Gonatas' reign; but there is an alternative for that of Demetrius, which I therefore propose to read: [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων], fifty-six letters. There is no need to suppose that the omission of αὐτῶν is an accident (though it may be), for in Athenian grants of proxeny or citizenship to a man and his children we do find at least one case of a similar omission.² If this restoration be correct—and there really seems no alternative—Phthia was still alive in the year of no. 790, 235/4, and this decree therefore comes before the year of no. 1299, the year of her death. Consequently no. 1299 cannot date as early as 235/4, which we saw from the evidence supplied by no. 1299 alone to be the earliest possible year; the earliest date for no. 1299—i.e. for Phthia's death—is therefore 234/3, and it may, of course, be a year or two later.

Now it is not possible in any of these four inscriptions to work in the words καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Χρυσῆδος; the reader is invited to try. Indeed, the only inscription of the four into which the name Chryseis can be worked at all is no. 780, and then only in the form [καὶ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων

¹ My restoration in *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 417, was merely a product of inadequate knowledge of the formulae. Johnson fills in the formula of no. 776, which is far too long.

² The usual phrase is αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους; but

we meet also τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ (I.G. 11², 654, 667, 786); ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ, *ib.* 496; and τοὺς ἐγγόνους without αὐτοῦ, *ib.* 844 = Syll.³ 537, l. 68, ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν [π]ροξενίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους (soon after 200).

³ Johnson, Ferguson-Kirchner, but the question of solutions the list from 26 and Philip Swoboda, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. Epidauros no. 3, belong

αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλίσσης Χρυσήδου], fifty-nine letters. This simply bristles with difficulties, and is condemned alike by the omission of the two definite articles and by the extraordinary order of the words. It would also necessitate accepting Johnson's chronological scheme. I cannot go into this complicated question here;¹ but suppose we accept his dating of Callimedes, i.e. no. 780, in 235/4 (I cannot myself), then, after all, the only result we reach from this restoration is that Demetrius married Chryseis in 235/4 after Phthia's death, which must be placed the same year; earlier it cannot be, even on Johnson's scheme. That is, this restoration cannot affect the conclusion that Phthia was queen, with children, during part of Demetrius' reign. But to me the difficulties of this restoration are insuperable, and I see nothing to be said for it. We may, I think, say with confidence that the contemporary inscriptions know nothing of Chryseis, but that they do show that Phthia was queen, with children, till 234/3 anyhow, which is the earliest date for her death, while her death may be a year or two later.

How, then, did the blunder preserved by Eusebius, that Philip was Chryseis' son, arise? The answer is given by Polybius, who used the contemporary Aratus. Chryseis he knows only as Doson's wife (5, 89, 7); but he makes the extraordinary statement that Philip was Demetrius' son *κατὰ φύσιν* (4, 2, 5), which is equivalent to saying that he was the son *κατὰ θέσιν* of somebody else, who can only be Doson. That is to say, Doson's method of securing Philip's succession was to adopt him as his son; indeed Polybius in a speech makes Philip call Doson his father (4, 24, 7).² To explain Eusebius, then, we need only suppose that Chryseis also adopted Philip. Whether in any Greek law a woman could adopt is immaterial; Hellenistic queens were not subject to Greek law, and there were precedents, like Ada's adoption of Alexander; the most famous was the adoption of the man who was afterwards Ptolemy III. by his father's second wife, Arsinoë II., which may have taken place in her lifetime.³ Philip then had two complete sets of parents: Demetrius and Phthia by nature, Doson and Chryseis by adoption. And just as in Egypt Ptolemy III. became for ever the son of Arsinoë II., while his real mother dropped out and never appears in the worship of the royal house, so for some reason unknown Phthia's name dropped out of our hopelessly mutilated tradition, and Philip went down to posterity as the son of his mother by adoption; indeed, until Phthia's name turned up in a Delian inventory⁴ it was known only from Justin's solitary reference (28, 1, 1).

¹ Johnson discovered a real difficulty in the Ferguson-Kirchner dating, viz. *I.G.* 11², 704; but the question is whether there are not simpler solutions than his alteration of Ferguson's whole list from 262/1 onwards.

² There is no ground for supposing that Doson and Philip were joint kings, as suggested by Swoboda, *Hermes* 57, 1922, 529, and Kougeas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1921, 16, in the belief that the Epidaurus inscription 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1918, 115, no. 3, belongs to this period (it really belongs to

303; see Wilcken, *Berlin Sitzb.*, 1922, 122; Tarn, *J.H.S.*, 1922, 198). Both writers cite Paus. 6, 16, 3, which has no bearing on the question; if it shows that Doson and Philip were joint kings, then it shows that Demetrius I. and Ptolemy I. were joint kings also!

³ See on this H. von Prott, *Rh. Mus.* 53, 1898, 472-4.

⁴ *B.C.H.*, 1911, 259, no. 51, l. 10; see Wilhelm, *Königin Phthia*, *B.Ph.W.*, 1912, 314.

Parallels to this substitution of the adopted for the real parent occur even in private life. An adopted son usually described himself as υἱὸς τοῦ δεινὸς καθ' υἰοθεσίαν δὲ τοῦ δεινός, though sometimes other people did not name either of his fathers, and merely said 'whoever his father may be.'¹ But there is a case of a priestess at Miletus who describes herself as daughter of her father by adoption, putting him first and her real father second, and then proceeds to trace her descent through her adopted and not through her real father; apparently on adoption she even changed her name.²

The only point now open is whether Chryseis was ever Demetrius' wife, as Plutarch, Justin, and Eusebius assert. Eusebius says she was a Thessalian captive. There is no difficulty, as Beloch suggested, about a Macedonian king marrying a captive; Alexander married two. But there is great difficulty about Demetrius II. marrying a Thessalian captive, for so far as we know he was never at war with Thessaly, which first revolted after his death and was in large part recovered by Doson. Eusebius blunders again in making Doson rule as guardian, ἐπίτροπος,³ for the contemporary inscriptions show that he was king.⁴ Eusebius' narrative, which is further vitiated by its persistent confusion between Demetrius II. and Demetrius king of Cyrene, is therefore wrong on every point except the bare statement that Doson married Chryseis. Plutarch is in no better case. His story (*Aem. Paul.* 8) is that the Macedonian nobles (οἱ πρῶτοι Μακεδονίας), the throne being vacant (ἀναρχία), married Doson to Philip's mother, and made him guardian of Philip and general, and subsequently king; he was called Doson, he who is about to give, because he promised and did not perform. This story is very late and quite impossible. The nobles had nothing to do with the matter; the throne being vacant, all lawful authority was in the hands of the army; they alone could make a guardian, a regent, or a king. The events of the period after Alexander's death show that they were not likely to forego their constitutional power, and the formal crystallization of the constitutional position of the Macedonian people under arms into the κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων (*Syll.*⁵ 575), which must have occurred at this time,⁵ shows that in fact they did not forego it; the κοινὸν must have been their price for electing Doson. And it is unnecessary to remark that the name Doson (which may not be Greek at all) can have had no connexion with the future participle of δίδωμι. Plutarch's authority, whoever he was, put this story together at a time when the facts relating to the constitution of Macedonia, and the very meaning of the kings' names, had been forgotten. The stories in Plutarch and Eusebius are, then, not of a

¹ Michel, 1342, πατὴρ οὗ ἂν χρηματίζῃ; see *I.J.G.* 2, p. 376 sqq.

² Th. Wiegand, *Siebenter Bericht über die von d. h. Mus. in Milet und Didyma unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, 1911, 67, no. 2: 'Ἀπρέμδος Πυθελῆς ὑδροφόρος Μιννιῶ Ἀντήνορος, φύσι δὲ Ἑρακλῆτου τοῦ Εὐανδρίδου καλουμένη Βερενίκη . . . l. 19 ὑπάρχουσα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πατὴρ καὶ πρὸς μητὴρ ||| E ||| . . .] τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἀντήνορος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς μητὴρ κ.τ.λ.

³ I, 239, ἐπιτροπέας ἔτη 48'. The figure is quite wrong also.

⁴ *I.G.* XI. 4, 1097, V. 2, 299, 300; *B.S.A.*, 1904/5, p. 111, no. 11; *G.D.I.* 5043; *B.C.H.*, 1889, 47, no. 1 = *A.J. Arch.*, 1896, 583.

⁵ Because of the change in the royal style from Μακεδῶν to καὶ Μακεδόνες; *J.H.S.*, 1909, 269 sqq.

nature to substantiate the one possible statement in both—that Doson married Philip's mother, Demetrius' widow. This statement, however, is also given by Justin, 28, 3, 9, and bad as Justin is, Trogus did not necessarily get it from Plutarch's source; and I think it is easier to explain the origin of this story if we suppose that it was true in a certain sense: Chryseis did marry Demetrius after Phthia's death and adopted Philip on her marriage. She was his 'mother' when Demetrius died. Doson then had every reason for marrying her, both on account of Thessaly (if she were really a Thessalian) and as the simplest way of securing the succession of her 'son' by adopting him himself; doubtless he had promised this to Demetrius, and it is merely another case of the well-known family loyalty of the Antigonids.

The question here examined is not without a certain historical interest, for it helps to explain Philip V. It has always been obvious that in one way he did not resemble an Antigonid; for all his qualities, he showed outbursts of a temper which paid no heed to consequences provided its object were achieved, and which led to such horrors as that at Abydus—'madness' Polybius calls it. No Antigonid had had a temper of that sort; even cruelty had been foreign to the house since the first Antigonus, and his misdeeds had been, like Cassander's, of the calculated kind—steps to power. Only one house in Hellas, the Epeirôt, traditional descendants of Achilles, possessed that temper. It had dominated Olympias; Alexander's will-power could not always restrain it. Even Pyrrhus had shown it once, and lost Sicily in consequence. If we did not now know that there was Epeirôt blood in Philip, we might have guessed it from his character.

W. W. TARN.

ETYMOLOGIES.

Ἀπλοῦς AND διπλοῦς.

THE generally accepted explanation of the -πλοῦς (-πλόος) in these words, that it comes from the root *pel-* 'to fold' (Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.* s.v. διπλόος), fails to account for the presence of the double o in -πλόος. May not this -πλόος be identical with πλοῦς [πλό(F)ος] 'voyage'? In other languages a word for 'voyage' or 'journey' has faded into a word for 'time' ('mal,' 'fois')—e.g. Serb. *jedan put* 'once' (lit. 'one journey'); Lett. *vien-reiz* 'once' (lit. 'one journey,' *reiz* being borrowed from Low German, in which *reise* had already suffered this change of meaning, cf. Endzelin, *Bezzenger's Beiträge* 29. 179 note).

As the Lettish word for 'simple,' viz. *vienkars*, is based on an adverbial phrase meaning 'once,' which does not survive in Lettish, but appears in Lith. *vienkart*, so perhaps ἀπλοῦς 'simple' is based on an obsolete phrase *ἐνα πλό(F)ον* 'once.'

Ἐρχομαι AGAIN (cf. C.Q. XV., p. 44).

Acceptance of my contention that ἔρχομαι is connected with ὀρχέομαι and with ἄρχω (ἀρχομαι) would make it easier to understand how the same word comes to mean in Lithuanian 'to jump' or 'dance' (*šókti*), and in Lettish 'to begin' (*sākt*). The identity of *šókti* and *sākt*, which correspond phonetically, was suspected by Leskien (*Ablaut der Wurzelsilben* 374), and has been asserted by Endzelin, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachf.* 43. 25.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

ENNIANA.

THE notorious line, 'O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta, turanne, tulisti,' is assigned to Ennius by Priscian, Isidore, and the *Explanator in Donatum*, as well as by Pompeius in his second quotation of it. In the first, however (287 K), he, like *Auctor ad Herennium*, Charisius, Donatus, Martianus Capella, and Plotius Sacerdos, gives no author's name. There is thus some reasonable doubt whether the attribution is correct; and this doubt is greatly increased by the remarks of our earliest authority, the *Auctor ad Herennium* (IV. 12. 18): '*Vitabimus eiusdem litterae nimiam adsiduitatem, cui uitio uersus hic erit exemplo, nam hic nihil prohibet in uitiiis alienis exemplis uti O Tite e.g.s.; et hic eiusdem poetae Quicquam quisquam e.g.s.*' This clearly indicates:

1. That it was unusual for this author to borrow his illustrative examples (cf. IV. 2. 4 sqq., where he states that he prefers to make up his own examples instead of quoting from the best prose authors and poets as most rhetoricians do).

2. In the particular case of the *uitia*, however, he did permit himself to borrow. (*Hic* is the emphatic word; *in uitiiis* may be a gloss. The Teubner editor brackets *hic*.) I further suggest:

3. That the *poeta* from whom the lines are taken is Lucilius. It is well known (see Pompeius, 289. 10 K) that Lucilius did not merely draw up a list of one hundred solecisms, but described or illustrated them. And nothing is more natural than to suppose that those illustrations took the form of parodies of Ennius. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Lucilius played the part of Aristophanes to the Euripides of Ennius; and such a subject as an essay on 'how not to do it' would give him an opportunity too good to miss (on the whole question, cf. Hardie, *Res Metrica*, p. 4). These parodies may have been taken seriously by some later grammarians, so that even an attribution to Ennius in our authorities need not make us accept certain monstrosities as genuine. It is to be noted that both *Auct. ad Her.* and Plotius Sacerdos, neither of whom mentions Ennius, give the line to illustrate a bad form, not simply as a figure as the others do. The metre of the second example in *Auct. ad Her.* (trochaic tetrameter catalectic) seems to have been a favourite with Lucilius, so there is no need to follow the editors in calling the line a dramatic fragment. A last suggestion which may be made is that with the realization that many anonymous lines which appear in the grammarians and writers on metre, and which have been attributed to Ennius, are in all probability the composition of the critics themselves (see above), we can begin the work of clearing Ennius' text of much that is unworthy of him.

Nonius 370 M: '*Passum, dispersum solutum: Vergilius Aen. lib. I. crinibus e.g.s.: Terentius in Phormione Capillus e.g.s.: Caecilius Synaristosis Heri uero e.g.s. Passum, extensum, patens... Ennius Annalium lib. X. Aegro corde comis passis late palmis pater... passis ait palmis patentibus et extensis.*' Of the numerous attempts to make a hexameter from the Ennius quotation, some are too far from the MSS. and others give an absurd sense. A glance at the context, however, shows that Nonius has already dealt with the meanings of *passum*, in which the word could be applied to *comae*; and his note following our line shows clearly that it is intended to illustrate the second meaning only, which applies well to *palmæ* but not at all to *comæ*. I therefore suggest that *comis* should be omitted as a mistaken reminiscence of the previous section (or possibly as the remains of a note intended to remind the reader that *comis passis* was a phrase that might be used as well as *crinibus* or *capillis passis*), and *pater* placed where *comis* now stands. Having been ousted from its proper position by the wrongly inserted *comis*, it was placed later in the quotation when its loss was discovered. I further suggest that *pater*, which seems to be invariably regarded as vocative, is nominative, and that the whole fragment might be restored:

The
natural
son was
Cynosce
that the
his furt
refer th
may ha
and tha
Book X
An
This fra
1.
(Vahler
2.
Th
account
flutes o
elabora
reason
the mu
Scholia
interpre
by Val
misrepr
Musaru
Muse v
other fo
it is nat
poetic
referen
pioneer
hymns
hence t
commo
is helpe
may fo
the line
The go
being p
1 The
p. xxxix
habit of
they ma
beyond
of cases
him fro
other co
our pres
Caelus g
capsit cas
word fr

. *aegro*
*corde pater passis late palmis <lacrumatus>.*¹

The subject of Book X. was undoubtedly the Macedonian Wars; and a very natural reference for our line would be to the protests or farewells of a father whose son was included among the hostages demanded by Flamininus after the battle of Cynoscephalae. Valmaggi (Q. Enni. *I Frammenti degli Annali*, p. 100) also suggests that the error centres in *comis*. His conjecture *comes* is not easy to understand, but his further remarks are perfectly sound. With the removal of *comis* all necessity to refer the fragment to a woman disappears, and carries with it whatever justification may have been claimed for L. Müller's theory that the line describes Sophonisba, and that, therefore, the narrative of the Second Punic War was continued into Book X.

Annales VIII.: Tibia Musarum pangit melos (Schol. Bern. ad Georg. IV. 72). This fragment is usually interpreted as a reference to either:

1. The *Ouatio* granted to M. Marcellus on his return from Sicily in 211 B.C. (Vahlen), or

2. A council of the gods or banquet in Olympus.

The first of these is greatly preferable to the second; but it does not take account of the word *Musarum*, which would be out of place in a description of the flutes of the *Ouatio* (see especially Plutarch, *Marcellus* XXII., where there is an elaborate contrast between the *Ouatio* and the *Triumphus*). And there is no adequate reason for assuming that the Ennius passage contained a specific contrast between the music of war (which appears in Vergil) and the music of peace (which the Scholiast illustrates from Ennius) of the sort indicated in Plutarch (*l.c.*). The other interpretation is supported whole-heartedly by Pascoli (*Epos*, p. 40), and not rejected by Valmaggi (*op. cit.*, p. 86). But Pascoli, who quotes *Il. I. 602 sqq.* in support of it, misrepresents a perfectly simple passage, seemingly from his preconception that *Musarum* depends on *tibia*. I suggest, however, that this is unnatural; the only Muse who seems to play the *tibia* is Euterpe, the others using the *barbiton* or some other form of the lyre. The phrase *Μοῦσα(ί)ων μέλος* is actually found in Greek, and it is natural to take *Musarum melos* together in Ennius in the sense of 'melodious or poetic song.' This will enable us to find in the fragment a uniquely interesting reference to the hymn *Ad Iunonem Reginam*, composed in 207 B.C. by the veteran pioneer Livius Andronicus.² It was most probably sung *cum tibicine*, like the early hymns in honour of the heroic dead, when it was performed by the choir of girls; hence the *tibia* of the text. The word *pangit* in this metaphorical connexion is most commonly used of the author; but the not unnatural transference to the instrument is helped by the fact that *melos* can mean either the words or the tune. The words may form part of a *pium uotum* addressed to Juno herself, and perhaps introduced by the line *Optuma caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum*, which is usually placed near them. The goddess' favour would thus be solicited by drawing her attention to the service being performed in her honour. Or the fragment may belong to the body of the

¹ The suggestion of Vahlen (*Enn. Poes. Rel. II.*, p. xxxix) that Nonius is in the almost invariable habit of quoting whole lines of Ennius, whether they make complete sense or not, seems to go beyond the facts. There are actually a number of cases where portions of lines are quoted by him from the *Annales*, both with and without other complete lines. Especially interesting for our present purpose are 197 M. 10, *Saturno Quem Caelus genuit*, and 66 M. 22, *Rastros† dentefabres† capsit causa poliendi Agri*, in both of which a single word from an incomplete line is preserved.

There seems, therefore, little difficulty in the arrangement *Aegro Corde pater e.q.s.* suggested above.

² If the conclusions of Cichorius (*Römische Studien I.*) that Livius was not the author of the hymn of 207 are accepted, the suggestions of personal interest made above will, of course, be invalidated. But even so, the general reference will remain the same, and the fragment can be understood of the special religious and literary event of that year.

narrative. But in any case some reference to Livius and his hymn was practically inevitable. In a very real sense the occasion was the most important in the early history of Latin poetry. The popular estimate of the hymn must have been very greatly heightened by the dramatic suddenness with which success followed it. For the first time literature was officially recognized by the community, for the first time its efforts were publicly rewarded (by the foundation of the famous but little understood *Collegium Poetarum*, with the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine as its meeting-place). Ennius must, from his residence on the same hill, have been thoroughly familiar with the *Collegium*. He was intensely aware of the dignity of the poet's calling; above all, he can hardly have failed to feel the warmest personal interest in the career of Livius, a native of the very town in which he received his education, the pioneer who may have died in the very year in which the younger poet came to Rome. It may well be that it was the example of Livius which first inspired Ennius to become a poet. His first known works are dated to 240 B.C., the year before Ennius' birth, his last to 207 B.C., three years before Cato brought Ennius to the capital. He was thus engaged in active composition throughout the entire period of the formation of Ennius' character and talents; and his fame, some reports of which no doubt reached the neighbourhood of his old home, must have powerfully impressed the young '*Rudinus*.' On all these grounds may we not see in our present fragment a reference to the poet's great predecessor?

Annales III.: *Ostia munitast. Idem loca nauibus celsis Munda facit nautisque mari quaesentibus uitam.* *Munda* = *instructa, ornata*, seems, as a rule, to be the note of the editors, who further explain *nauibus* and *nautis* as ablatives constructed with *munda*. An interpretation so extraordinary could hardly maintain itself did the scholars who repeat it translate their own words into the vernacular. The meaning cannot be anything but 'He supplied the place also (or decorated it) with ships and seafaring men.' No parallel for *munda* = *instructa* is quoted; the interpretation seems to be based on the secondary meanings of the nouns *mundus* and *munditiae*. I suggest that *munda* is used in a sense which, if not quite literal, is readily derived from the literal. The meaning is that Ancus *cleaned out* the river mouth and made it ready for ships and sailors; that is, we are dealing with a description of dredging operations to provide a good harbour for the new colony. It is notorious that the channel was continually liable to become silted up by the quantity of solid material which the Tiber carried down. By the time of Sulla continued neglect had practically ruined the approaches; and before Augustus established his empire merchantmen had almost ceased to attempt the dangerous task of putting in. Even after the establishment of the new *Portus Urbis*, it was found safer to convey goods by road from it to the *Emporium* at the foot of the Aventine rather than trust anything bigger than an ox-drawn barge to the choked and dangerous river-channel. *Munda* then means 'cleaned' or 'prepared by cleaning,' and hence 'ready for service' (a force which may suggest an origin for the phrase *in mundo esse* or *habere*); with this explanation *nauibus* and *nautis* are of course datives. Festus quotes the lines to illustrate the very point of the meaning of *mundus*. Unfortunately his own text is badly damaged, but the epitomizer supports my explanation, *Mundus quoque appellatur lantus et purus* (143 M), words both of which mean properly 'freed from dirt or foreign admixture.' A reasonable suggestion is that 'the note stated that *mundus* could be used (of a person) to mean "clean" or "well-washed"; and it may well have added that the word could also be used by extension of a place that had been cleaned or put in order.' Cicero uses *terra pura* (*Sen.* XVII. 59) of ground that has been cleared of stones and weeds. In the same way *munda facit* means 'he clears out the silt.'

ETHEL MARY STEUART.

THE UNIVERSITY,
EDINBURGH.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *METAMORPHOSES* OF APVLEIVS. I.

THE later MSS. of the *Metamorphoses*¹ of Apuleius² have received little attention. Hildebrand's edition, the last to give an extensive *apparatus criticus*, appeared in 1842, and seven years later Keil³ announced his belief that all the MSS. which he had seen in Italy were derived from Laur. 68. 2 (F), the famous eleventh century MS., written at Monte Cassino, and now at Florence. Since Keil, all texts have been based almost exclusively on F, with assistance from its twelfth⁴ or thirteenth century copy Laur. 29. 2 (φ), in the enormous number of places where F is now illegible.

Keil's view was based chiefly on the destructive rent in fol. 160 of F (*Met. VIII.* cc. 7, 8, and 9), to which correspond a series of intentional gaps in φ, filled up by a later hand⁵ in the fourteenth century. The later MSS. are all either defective in these passages (there are two affected areas, on the recto and verso of the sheet), or have readings obviously connected with those added later to φ. Keil held that this filling was conjectural and of no authority. His verdict has been generally extended to all later MSS., and it has been argued or assumed that all are derived, directly or indirectly, from F. Keil, however, unlike most recent editors, took the sensible view that the later MSS. might be of some value, considering the present illegibility of F. But he did not develop this theme.

In 1895 G. Rossbach and J. van der Vliet independently published articles, claiming that the later MSS. deserved more attention than they had received. Van der Vliet⁶ claimed only this, that the filling in of the lacunae in some later MSS. was not borrowed from φ's fourteenth century supplements, but was a genuine tradition going back to F untorn. One of the objects of my articles is to prove that in this van der Vliet was right. Rossbach, partly on similar grounds,⁷ maintained that the Dorvillianus (δ), now at Leyden, was not merely superior in some ways to φ, but was actually independent of F, and was of non-Italian descent (a view which is wholly untenable). Next year⁸ van der Vliet attacked Rossbach's view of δ, but argued in detail that the later MSS. fell into two classes, the better of which, including

¹ The *Apologia* and *Florida* are in the same position as the *Met.* They are included in F and φ, and rarely occur in MSS. apart from the *Met.*

² I have followed recent editors in keeping the traditional spelling *Apuleius* (with one *p*), because it does not seem quite certain that this spelling is wrong; the evidence of inscriptions suggests that *Apuleius* may have been characteristic of Africa (see *Thes. L. Lat. s.v. Appius*, a reference which I owe to Dr. Postgate). F has *Apuleius*, and so have the best MSS. of the philosophical works.

³ *Obs. crit. in Catonis et Varroonis de r. r. libris*, Halle, 1849, pp. 77 sqq.

⁴ φ has generally been called twelfth century.

Lowe, however (*The Beneventan Script*, 1914, p. 70), assigned it to the thirteenth. Rostagno and Schiaparelli adhere to the old dating, and Lowe (*Class. Quart. XIV.*, 1920, p. 155) suggests the date 1200. For all this, and for a refutation of Rossbach's view that φ is a Renaissance MS., see Lowe's article. Lowe thinks that φ, like F, was written at Monte Cassino.

⁵ Professor Rostagno most kindly examined this writing for me, and made exhaustive comparisons. His conclusion is: 'Credo di non essere lontano dal vero attribuendo al sec. xiv.—forse 2^a metà—quei supplementi.'

⁶ *Mnem.*, 1895, pp. 175 sqq.

⁷ *N. J. f. Ph. u. P.*, 1895, pp. 570 sqq.

⁸ *Mnem.*, 1896, pp. 210 sqq.

δ, were derived from a copy or copies of F earlier than φ. He reaffirmed his view in the preface¹ of his edition of the *Metamorphoses*. To this pioneer work I am deeply indebted: van der Vliet's early death was a great loss to Apuleian scholarship.

The later Teubner editor, R. Helm,² rejected these suggestions, and discarded the later MSS. altogether; and his view has been generally followed. My friend, Professor H. E. Butler, who examined all the MSS. of the *Apologia* and the *Florida*, while I was investigating those of the *Metamorphoses*, writes, in his edition³ of the *Apologia*: 'The numerous fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. contribute nothing of real importance to the text, though, as must frequently result from the examination of Renaissance MSS., I have found that a number of corrections attributed to Renaissance and even later scholars were in reality made at an earlier date.' E. A. Lowe conveniently summarizes prevailing views in his article in *C.Q.* 1920 (p. 151): 'Of all the transcripts of F only one is of importance, and that is φ'; though, since one of the objects of his article is to prove that φ's scribe was neither 'painstaking' nor 'conscientious,' and since he does not attempt to prove that the later MSS. are derived from φ, the grounds of his confidence are not obvious. I should add that, in 1912, C. Marchesi,⁴ in publishing a collation of the *Apologia* in the MS. Laur. 54. 32 (which I call, after Butler, L₁) maintained that this MS. was independent of F. His arguments, however, tended to show merely that L₁ is not a direct copy of F: he gives nothing suggestive of real independence.

All these views (except Butler's for *Apologia* and *Florida*) are based on insufficient knowledge, for the later MSS. of the *Metamorphoses* have never been systematically examined, though van der Vliet published important readings of a certain number, chiefly in the region of the rent. In the hope of throwing fresh light on the problem, I have obtained partial collations of all the MSS. of the *Metamorphoses* (thirty-eight in number), of whose existence I am aware. Twenty-seven of these⁵ I have seen myself: of the remainder, five were kindly examined for me by Professor Butler, and one by the late Mr. G. L. Cheesman, who each sent me written collations of important passages: for the remaining five I have obtained photographs of important pages. Considerably more than half of these contain also *Apologia* or *Florida* or both, and all these have been described by Butler in the Introduction to his *Apologia*. I have added a few details on those not described by him, but I have not attempted full descriptions. I adopt Butler's symbols, with a slight modification of form (L₁ for L¹ etc.): except that, where a library has only one MS. containing *Apologia* or *Florida*, but two or more containing *Metamorphoses*, I have added a '1' to his plain letter: for instance Butler's A (Ambros. N. 180) is my A₁, because I need also the symbol A₂. For the Paris and Wolfenbüttel MSS. I accept van der Vliet's symbols. I have added my identifications of existing MSS. with those cited by Hildebrand: his collations (mostly second-hand) vary greatly in merit, and are sometimes worthless: for the most part they give a fair idea of the general character of a MS., but are grossly inaccurate in detail.

The following is a complete list:

¹ Teubner, 1897, p. xiii. But here (e.g. p. xviii) he seems inclined to treat δ as the only MS. of this class.

² *Metam.*, 1907 and 1913; *Florida* (with general preface), 1910. The view that the *supplementa* of the rent in VIII. 7-9 are guess-work is maintained by Helm and also by Lowe, *Class. Quart.*, 1920, p. 152.

³ *Apulei Apologia*, H. E. Butler and A. S. Owen, Oxford, 1914, p. xxx.

⁴ *Studi ital. di filol. class.* XIX., 1912, p. 294.

⁵ I must express deep gratitude to the authorities of the University Library, Leyden, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Eton College Library, for sending MSS. for my use to the Cambridge University Library; also to the authorities of the other libraries where I have worked, and especially to Professor Enrico Rostagno, of the Laurentian Library. I must also thank Dr. E. H. Minns for his kindness in suggesting dates (from photographs) for some of the MSS. in the following list.

Place.	Library.	Catalogue Reference.	Symbol here used.	Hildebrand's Symbol.	Date.
Florence	Biblioteca Laurenziana	68. 2	F	F ₃	Century. 11th
"	" "	29. 2	φ	F ₁	12th or 13th
"	" "	54. 32	L ₁		14th
"	" "	54. 12	L ₂	F ₂	15th (1425)
"	" "	54. 13	L ₃		15th
"	" "	54. 24	L ₄		15th (1422)
"	" "	24 sin. 11	L ₅		14th
"	" "	54. 14	L ₆		14th (early)
"	" "	84. 24	L ₇		15th (late)
Milan	Biblioteca Ambrosiana	N. 180	A ₁		14th
"	" "	A. 144 sup.	A ₂		15th or 16th
Rome	Biblioteca Vaticana	Vat. Lat. 2193	V ₁		14th (before 1348)
"	" "	Vat. Lat. 3384	V ₂	U	14th
"	" "	Ottob. Vat. 2047	V ₃		14th
"	" "	Ottob. Vat. 2091	V ₄	L	14th (early)
"	" "	Urb. Vat. 199	V ₅		15th (late)
"	" "	Vat. Lat. 2194	V ₆		14th (1345)
"	" "	Vat. Lat. 2195	V ₇		14th (1358)
"	" "	Pal. Lat. 1574	V ₈	P	15th
Naples	Biblioteca Nazionale	IV. G. 55	N ₁		14th (1396)
"	" "	IV. D. 11	N ₂		14th (late)
"	" "	IV. D. 12	N ₃		14th (late)
"	Biblioteca Oratoriana	Mandarini, p. 22, No. 4	N ₄		15th or 16th
Venice	Biblioteca Marciana	L.Z. 469	M ₁		14th (late)
"	" "	Cl. 14. 34	M ₂	Z	15th (1409)
Leyden	Bibliotheek d. Rijks-Universiteit	Leid. Oud. 34 (Dorvillianus)	δ	δ	15th (late)
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale	Lat. 8668	P	R	15th
St. Omer	Bibliothèque Publique	No. 653	S	B	15th
St. Gallen	Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana)	No. 483	H		14th (late)
Wolfenbüttel	Landesbibliothek	Gud. Lat. 172	g	G ₁	or 15th 14th (late)
"	"	Gud. Lat. 30	G	G ₂	or 15th 14th (late)
Dresden	Sächs. Landesbibliothek	DC 178	¹ D	D	14th (1356)
London	British Museum	Add. 24893	B ₁	p	14th
"	" "	Burn. 128	B ₂		14th
"	" "	Harl. 4838	B ₃		14th
Eton	College Library	No. 147	E		15th (early)
Oxford	Bodleian Library	Laud. Lat. 55	O	L	14th

I have not given symbols to the extracts from the lost *Codex Fuxensis*² (once at Toulouse), made by Pithou in the margin of Colvius' 1588 edition (now Res. des Imprimés R. 1785 in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris) which I have not seen: nor to Vat. Lat. 8750, a fifteenth century paper MS., containing extracts from *Met. V.*: and I ignore altogether a few other late MSS. of this commonplace-book type.

¹ Butler uses D for the *Sanđaniensis*, but as that MS. does not contain *Met.*, and the *Dresdensis* does not contain *Apol.*, it seemed simplest to retain here, for the *Dresdensis*, the old and

obvious symbol D.

² If Hildebrand's reports of the *Fuxensis* are correct, it was a member of what I call below Class II.

But the *editio princeps*, Rome 1469 (which I call *a*), is an important witness, and seems to be based on a lost MS. or MSS. Two other early editions which I have tested (Venice 1493 and 1498) are almost identical with *a*. The Second Juntine (1522) has some remarkable readings. It is based on *a*, but seems to have used both F and *φ* direct: it is the only early text, MS.¹ or printed, known to me, that adopts F's marginal variant *tricipiti* in III. 19. I have only glanced at it, but it deserves a full collation, for it may conceivably draw direct upon some early copy of F now lost.

Of the MSS. not described by Butler, A2 is unimportant; it contains only *Met. I.* and *Met. II.* up to *digredere* c. 18. For V1, see, since Butler, F. Satz in *Sitzb. Heid. Ak. Wiss.* 1915, 6. 7. Abhandlung, p. 77. V6, a beautiful illuminated MS., containing only *Met.*, was dedicated in 1345, by the scribe Bartolomeus de bartholis of Bologna, to a nobleman whom I have identified as the famous Bruzio, natural son of Luchino, son of Matteo Visconti. The scribe informs us that the MS. was 'read by a certain intelligent scholar, Peter of Gubbio.' It is carefully written, and full of contemporary variants and notes: some of the variants are in the text: e.g. I. 25 '*meo al' nro magisterio mali debet coh'cei al' malos debeo coh'cere*': some are in the margin. P, g, and G (which is very imperfect) are briefly described in van der Vliet's preface. S is written in a difficult Gothic hand: I am dependent for it on notes made for me by Professor Butler, and on the collations published by Oudendorp and Hildebrand: Hildebrand's, at least, are taken from a collation made by F. Modius in 1589. I am not sure of the source of Oudendorp's, which sometimes differs from Hildebrand's.

Apart from Hildebrand and his predecessors, I know of the following published collations of the later MSS. of the *Metamorphoses*. (1) For the most important parts of VIII. 7-9 (the rent in F) van der Vliet published, in *Mnem.* 1896, pp. 210 sqq., fairly accurate collations of V2 V3 V4 V5 N1 N2 N3 A1 M1 M2 P g δ, and, in the preface to his text (1897) p. xxii, G. (2) Van der Vliet also published in his text some readings of P g G δ, and (for books I. and II. only) V2. (3) Rossbach, in *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Päd.* 1895, pp. 571 sqq., published the readings of δ in VIII. 7-9, and some other readings of δ. (4) Purser in *Hermathena* 1909 pp. 425 sqq. published a collation of O for *Met. IV.* 28—VI. 24, and a few readings from other books.

I have not tried to collate all these MSS. fully, but I have recorded the readings of all in the region of F's rent in VIII. 7-9, and in most I have collated the first fourteen chapters of that book. I have also collated in most MSS. three other selected passages of some length, and a list of important passages from all books. Unluckily I made this list at an early stage, when I was still hunting for traces of independence of F: I should make a different list now. However, the Eton MS., the three British Museum MSS., and the *editio princeps* represent between them all important classes, and I have checked the most interesting passages in all these, besides collating the most valuable, B1, completely.

The most hopeful field of research in the textual study of the *Metamorphoses* is still the renewed collation of F and *φ*, two tasks which I hope some day to complete. Helm's collation of F is a wonderful piece of work, for which he deserves the deepest gratitude of all students of Apuleius. But the book is so long, the Beneventan script so tiresome, and the difficulty of deciphering large parts of F so great, that the keenest eye must wander at times: and in my incomplete examination of F I have already found over a hundred passages where I disagree with Helm: in many cases he is certainly wrong. Very often I should probably have missed the true reading, had not the evidence of the later MSS. put me on my guard. Sometimes I have found that van der Vliet, Eyssenhardt (1869), and even Hildebrand's² 'excerptor' (who ill deserves his employer's eulogies) were right, where Helm is wrong. As for

¹ I do not, however, know the readings of all MSS. in this passage.

² Hildebrand, *Praef.*, p. xii: 'Fortuna satis

mira accidit ut eius codicis collatio in excerptoris manus traderetur, quo nemo diligentior, nemo accuratior esse potest.'

MA
φ, Hel
excussi
and he
in whic
articles

At
of F, c
This c
agree v
it rema
has be
assigns
margin
clearly
his com
it in hi
placed

I
phrases
signani
found i
and pr
expian
look lik
in Hel

modicu
pletely
there b
B

margi
one set
Rossba
(110, 1
Fulger
that δ
line, an
polatio

V
their n
group
(beside
and on
occur
Gubbio
run al'
Fulger
glabrun

¹ Hel
under
checked
source.
² Her
lines in

ϕ , Helm does not claim to have collated it completely: van der Vliet asserts ' ϕ *plene excussi*,' and he records much that Helm ignores: but he is careless here (as always), and he has missed and misreported a great deal. Some of the more important points in which I correct van der Vliet and Helm will be mentioned in the course of these articles.

At the outset, I had some hope that I might find traces of a tradition independent of F, especially in connexion with the famous *spurcum additamentum* in *Met.* X. 20. This curious fragment has recently been discussed by Butler (*Apologia*, p. xxix). I agree with him that it can scarcely be a medieval or early Renaissance forgery. But it remains, so far as I have discovered, an isolated phenomenon. It is not in F, but has been added to ϕ 's margin by a hand which Professor Rostagno confidently assigns to the thirteenth century. A fourteenth-century hand has also added it to the margin of L1. The original scribe of L4¹ (dated 1422) added it to his margin, clearly not direct from ϕ , but from L1; and the scribe of L2, who certainly revised his completed MS. by collation with ϕ in 1425, took the *additamentum* over, and placed it in his own margin. Late in the fifteenth century, V5 borrowed it from L4, and placed it, for the first and last time, in the text.

I can only add that the same hand, which added it to ϕ , also added some genuine phrases dropped by ϕ 's original scribe: for instance the words *uel deserendi . . . antesignani* dropped by lipography in *Met.* IV. 11 (Helm, p. 82, 16 to 18).² The versions found in ϕ and in L1 differ so slightly that they doubtless come from a single source, and probably that of L1 is borrowed from that of ϕ . The chief variations are *expiauit* ϕ , *expurgauit* L1; *conatim* ϕ , *concitim* L1; *ipsam* ϕ , *ipsa* L1. All these changes look like emendations. Professor Rostagno called my attention to a small inaccuracy in Helm's report of the ϕ version: in the last sentence, for *modicum id morule* read *modicum i* (= *illud*) *morule*. Both L1 and L4 have *illud* L2 *istud*. If ϕ is ever completely collated, it is conceivable that more traces of this mysterious tradition may there be found.

Besides this baffling fragment, and a short passage given by three MSS. in the margin of *Apol.* 95, which I regard, with Butler, as an interpolation, I know of only one set of readings (closely connected) which appears to be quite independent of F. Roszbach, in the article³ already mentioned, called attention to the fact that in V.9 (110, 15) δ reads *glabriorem* for F's *caluiorem*, and that this reading is quoted by Fulgentius, *expos. serm. ant.* 17 (p. 116, 21 Helm). Van der Vliet⁴ pointed out in reply that δ had two other readings (not in F) given by Fulgentius, *pumiliorem* in the next line, and *coragio itaque perfecto*⁵ in IV. 35 (102, 20), and he attributed all three to interpolation from Fulgentius.

Van der Vliet was certainly right, though the readings should be discussed on their merits. They occur in MSS. much older than δ , in fact in all those which I group as Class III., the most complex and impure class of all. The class includes (besides δ) four MSS. of the fourteenth century, N2, B2, H,⁶ and V7 (dated 1358), and one of the fifteenth century, L3. These readings (except that in IV. 35) also occur as contemporary variants in V6 (dated 1345), probably in the hand of Peter of Gubbio, and in this case they are demonstrably borrowed from Fulgentius, for they run *al' glabriorem . & . lenem . & . imbembem* and *al' pumilionem . pumilionos dnr lenes & enervos*. Fulgentius, after quoting Apuleius, writes *pumilios enim dicunt molles atque enervos, glabrum uero lenem et imbembem*. The same hand in V6, at the beginning of the *Psyche*

¹ Helm quotes, besides ϕ , L4's variants (only) under the symbol L; these (which I have checked) suffice to make it clear that L1 is their source.

² Henceforth I shall quote Helm's pages and lines in brackets—e.g. V. 9 (110, 15).

³ *N. J. f. Phil. u. Päd.*, 1895, p. 575.

⁴ *Mnem.*, 1896, p. 220.

⁵ Quoted by Fulgentius, *ib.* 36 (p. 121, 10 Helm).

⁶ I have no information about the reading of H in these passages.

story, refers to Fulgentius'¹ allegory in the *Mitologiae* (which in the two best MSS. of Fulgentius immediately precedes the *expos. serm. ant.*) and so does an early hand in B2. All three Fulgentius readings occur as variants in V2, and those of V.9 in L4: B3 has been altered to the Fulgentius readings in V.9. Helm tacitly accepts van der Vliet's view.

There seems, therefore, to be no strong reason for supposing that any extant MS. is independent of F. In fact, my study of the MSS. has convinced me that they are all closely connected with F, and almost certainly² derived from it alone. But there remains, in any case, the smaller but not unimportant question, whether any of them have preserved F's original text more faithfully than ϕ ; and, especially, whether any of them can prove descent from F in its unmutated state, before fol. 160 was torn. I hope to prove that certain MSS. do in fact fulfil these conditions, and that they have a real value for the reconstruction of the text.

This problem centres on the question of the *supplementa* of F's rent in VIII. 7-9 (182, 5 to 184, 5). Are these *supplementa* authentic? And, if so, do any of the extant MSS. represent the tradition from which they were transferred to ϕ in the fourteenth century? This question requires more careful treatment than it has yet received.

No extant MS. is certainly older than the writing in ϕ , so that the problem must be solved, if at all, on internal evidence. It is however worth recalling that the high authority of Professor Rostagno would be inclined to assign the writing in ϕ to the second half of the fourteenth century. I shall show that V6, written in 1345, contains almost the whole of the *supplementa*, in a form which proves that they had previously been inserted in the margin of some earlier MS. which was not ϕ .

I will begin with the facts about F and ϕ . The torn sheet of F (fol. 160) is excellently reproduced in Helm's *Florida*, so that any reader can get a fairly exact idea of the nature of the gaps—two wedge-shaped blocks driven into the text. The parts of the parchment close to the tear are, however, more legible than Helm's facsimile suggests. The parts of F directly affected run as follows: I do not try to show the *length* of the gaps, which I number (i) (ii) *etc.*, and I ignore most abbreviations.

(a) (VIII. 7 and 8 = 182, 5 sqq.). 'At illa³ parentum suorum alioquin reuerens inuita quidem uerum religiosae neces[sitati] subcumbens uultu non quidem hilario uerum . . . (i.) . . . | lo sereniore oboediens ut iubebatur uiuentium . . . (ii.) . . . | nia prorursus inspectore immo uero penitus i . . . (iii.) . . . | lis luctu ac maerore carpebat animum . . . (iv.) . . . | tos totasque noctes insumeat l . . . (v.) | derio. & imagines defuncti qu . . . (vi.) . . . | liberi forauerat adfixo s . . . (vii.) . . . | honoribus ipso se solac . . . (viii.) . . . ra | syllus praeceps alioq⁴ . . . (ix.) . . . temerarius | prius quam dolorem lacrimae satiarent (*I here omit most of the rest of the sentence*) non dubitauit de nuptiis conuenire *etc.*'

(b) (VIII. 8 and 9 = 183, 18 sqq.; *starting in a speech by Tlepolemus' ghost to his sleeping widow*) 'uulnera illa quorum sanguinem | . . . (i.) . . . e⁵ lacrimae perluerunt⁶ Non⁷ sunt tota dentium uul | . . . (ii.) lancea mali thrasilli me tibi fecit alienum. | . . . (iii.) . . . dit. cetera omnemque scaenam sceleris inlumi | . . . (iv.) . . . t⁸ illa ut

¹ Fulgentius, *Mitol.* III. 6 (p. 66, l. 19 sqq., Helm). The note in V6 is interesting: *Incipit fabula Psyche. Allegoriam istius fabulae ponit fabius placiades quam require inter alias in libello ueteri.*

² The only alternative possibility is that some are derived from F's immediate ancestor.

³ *Ille* is Charite, whose husband, Tlepolemus, has been murdered while hunting by the villain Thrasyllus, who is now courting her.

⁴ The *q* of *alioq* is incomplete.

⁵ This *e* is ignored by Helm. It might be ϕ (= ae), as the bottom is lost.

⁶ This reading will be discussed later.

⁷ The capital N has been erased, and a small one substituted. Perhaps there was a full-stop before N.

⁸ This *t* is only partly preserved.

MA
primu
... (v
grato
conuer
It
short l
in F),
F
restora
Tharsy
nia wh
also dr
... b
ally he
not ea
immed
sugges
In
He cer
uulnera
lacrimae,
from th
I doub
by the
undoub
tiam af
(viii.).
heu, as
Th
supplem
correct
results
could b
correct
guess-w
that th
improb
and if v
inspect
into ϕ .
It is ev
tion of
exactly
facsimi
It
in word
¹ Helm
legible.
² Or
³ The
legible.
⁴ Helm
certain.

best MSS. of
early hand in
nose of V.9 in
tacitly accepts

any extant MS.
e that they are
t alone. But
whether any
nd, especially,
state, before
ese conditions,

at in VIII. 7-9
do any of the
d to ϕ in the
an it has yet

t the problem
alling that the
riting in ϕ to
itten in 1345,
that they had
not ϕ .

F (fol. 160) is
a fairly exact
ne text. The
than Helm's
do not try to
ignore most

quin reuerens
uidem hilare
... (ii.) ...
u ac maerore
... (v.) | derio.
... (vii.) ... |
... (ix.) ...
the rest of the

t to his sleeping
uerunt⁶ Non⁷
ienum. | ...
... t⁸ illa ut

. It might be

d later.
ed, and a small
was a full-stop

d.

primum maesta quieuerat. toro | ... (v.) ... tiam¹ nunc dormiens lacrimis ema] ... (vi.) ... midat.² & uelut quoddam torm | ... (vii.) ... (lu)ctu³ redinte-grato prolifxum heula⁴ ... (viii.) ... da⁵ decora bchia saeuientibus palmulis conuerberat.⁷

It is most important to observe how ϕ 's original scribe⁶ treated these seventeen short lacunae. He left gaps (not corresponding in length at all accurately to those in F), and he made a very few restorations, mostly good.

First for (a). Here he restored <pau>lo in (i.) and <et dies to>tos in (iv.): both restorations are obvious, suitable, and exactly the right length. In (viii.) he restored *Tharsyllus* for ... *rasyllus*, another easy feat. On the other hand, he misread the *nia* which follows (ii.) as *ma*, dropped *i* ... and ... *lis* before and after (iii.), and also dropped *l* ... before (v.), *qu* ... before (vi.), *s* ... before (vii.), the *c* of *solac* ... before (viii.), and the incomplete *q* of *alioq* ... before (ix.). He is also universally held to have dropped the whole of *temerarius* after (ix.) (the first four letters are not easy to read in F), and he certainly did not write it in its obvious position, immediately before *priusquam*: but the evidence here is less simple than editors suggest, and I shall return to this point.

In (b) the scribe attempted at most only two restorations, both somewhat wrong. He certainly wrote *nulnera. sed lancea* in (ii.), where measurement proves that F had *nulnera. lancea*. More obscure is the case of (i). Here —he has been written before *lacrima*, and van der Vliet is certainly right (against Helm) in differentiating this —he from the rest of the fourteenth-century *supplementa*. I think it is clearly earlier, but I doubt if van der Vliet is right in ascribing it to the original writing of the passage by the first hand. I suspect that it was added in an early revision. The gap in F undoubtedly requires not *hae* but *tae*. The scribe dropped ... *t* after (iv.), ... *tiam* after (v.), ... *midat* after (vi.), (lu)ctu after (vii.), and ... *da decora bchia* after (viii.). He also ignored *interula* in F's margin. For *heula* before (viii.) he wrote only *heu*, as van der Vliet observed: Helm wrongly ascribes this *heu* to the later hand.

These details are of great importance, as we shall see when we consider the *supplementa* added to ϕ in the fourteenth century. It is absolutely certain that no corrector who had nothing to guide him but ϕ unsupplemented could have produced the results which I am about to describe: to take only the most striking instance, no one could by guess-work, without even the faint light of *da* or *la* to help him, have restored correctly the rare word *interula*. It is therefore necessary for those who adopt the guess-work theory (though they have not, I think, observed the necessity) to assume that the corrector of ϕ had also before him either F itself (in its torn state), or a most improbably accurate copy of it. The second alternative need scarcely be considered: and if we adopt the first, it is at least surprising that any scribe, while so laboriously inspecting F, should have refrained from writing his restorations into F as well as into ϕ . It would certainly have been obvious to him that F was here ϕ 's original. It is even, I think, unlikely that anyone would have restored *interula* from the inspection of F in its torn state. It is small, difficult to read, far out in the margin, and not exactly opposite the right line. Of this anyone can judge by looking at Helm's facsimile.

It is also desirable to observe the following mistakes made by ϕ 's original scribe in words and phrases not directly affected by the rent: they are important for the

¹ Helm gives *iā*, but the *ti* ligature is clearly legible.

² Or *nidat* (the *m* or *n* is imperfect).

³ The top of the *l* and the end of the *u* are legible.

⁴ Helm '*heuen* (uel *heula*). I think *heula* is certain.

⁵ Or *la*. In the margin opposite *la* or *da* the first hand has written *iterula*. Helm is probably right in suspecting that F's text had *interida*.

⁶ ϕ regularly changes final *ae* to *e*. See Lowe in *Class. Quart.*, i.c., p. 153. He also changes F's *thrasyllus* to *tharsyllus*, and his *tlepolemus* to *alepolemus*.

classification of the later MSS. VIII. 7 (182, 6 and 7) *uerum religiosae necessitati* F, *uerum etiam necessitati religiose* ϕ : (182, 12) *imagines* F, *imaginem* ϕ (not hitherto recorded): (182, 14) *se* F *sese* ϕ : VIII. 8 (183, 3) *procellaque* F, *procellasque* ϕ (not hitherto recorded): (183, 6) *mugitus iterans* F (with *ru* as a first-hand marginal variant), *mugitus reiterans* ϕ (probably by a misreading of F's *ru*, which clearly means *rugitus*: (183, 12) *permanat* F, *permaneat* ϕ (the *ea* is of unusual shape, perhaps *a* altered to *ea* by the first hand): (183, 13) *mortis meae* F, *mee mortis* ϕ : (183, 19) *perluerunt* F, *proluerunt* ϕ .

This word calls for some discussion. All editors give *proluerunt* as the reading of both F and ϕ . It is however clear, even from Helm's facsimile, that F has *pluerunt* altered to *pluerunt*, without even erasing the original cross-bar. But it is also clear that in F an upright letter by an early hand has been erased above the *p*. Professor Rostagno is convinced that this letter was *l*: probably, as he suggests, the hand that altered *p* to *p* erased the letter above the line. The intention of the scribe who wrote *l* above the *p* is hard to guess. Professor Rostagno thinks that he intended *pelluerunt*.

In 184, 3 the scribe of ϕ has been wrongly accused by Helm of not reproducing F's reading: the point is most important, for Helm has built on this misreading a very impressive argument against the authenticity of the *supplementa*. Helm gives the readings of F and ϕ correctly: they are *qđ dā* F, *q dā* ϕ : but Helm wrongly interprets ϕ 's reading as *quodam*. In fact, both¹ mean *quoddam*. I shall return to the significance of this point: it really provides a strong argument in favour of the *supplementa*.

I now pass to the work of ϕ 's fourteenth-century supplementer, who treated the remaining gaps as follows (making no attempt to fill the vacant spaces neatly).

First for (a). Here in (ii.) he wrote *munia*, and underlined the following *ma*: in (iii.) he wrote *in medullis* in the gap between *penitus* and *luctu*: in (v.) he wrote *luctuoso desi* in the gap between *insumebat* and *derio*: in (vi.) he wrote *quas ad habitum dei* in the gap between *defuncti* and *liberi*, without emending to *formaueat* the following *forauerat* which ϕ had faithfully copied from F: in (vii.) he wrote *seruitio diuinis percolens* between *adfixo* and *honoribus*: in (viii.) he wrote *tio cruciabat*—between *sola* and *tharsyllus*, and added *uero*² after *tharsyllus* (182, 14), the false reading of a large class of inferior MSS. In (ix.) the facts are more obscure. Helm prints this *supplementum* as '*quin—et de ipso noie tem'ari*': but this ignores the existence of an erasure, under *quin* and the horizontal stroke which follows it. Professor Rostagno, who kindly examined this for me, writes that the original writing has been utterly erased, leaving no legible trace. Possibly an early corrector added *temerarius*, after a fresh inspection of F (where the whole word is still, with difficulty, legible): and this may have been erased when the full reading was inserted in the fourteenth century. I fancied at one time that *quin*—looked later than the rest of the *supplementa*, but Professor Rostagno thinks not.

Next for (b). Here the supplementer left untouched in (ii.) the original scribe's wrong restoration of *vulnera. sed*, and also the —*he* of (i.). In (iii.) he wrote *Et addi* between *alienum* and *dit*: in (iv.) he wrote *nat. At* between *inlumi* and *illa*: in (v.) he wrote *faciem impressa* between *thoro* and *nunc* (*etiam* being thus entirely lost): in (vi.) he wrote *nantibus genas cohuidat* between *ema* and *et uelut*: in (vii.) he wrote *to inquieta quieti excussa luctu* between *tormi* and *redintegrato*, in (viii.) he wrote *heu eiulat. Discissaque interula decora brachia* between *prolixum* and *sentientibus*. The same supplementer, as van der Vliet noted, wrote *in pectore* over *inspectore* in 182, 9: Helm wrongly attributes this emendation to the first hand of ϕ .

¹ See Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 191. *quid* without comment.

In VIII. 24 (178, 22) ϕ reproduces *qđ* by *q*: there Helm (as we shall see later) prints

² Professor Rostagno thinks that this *uero* is contemporary with the rest of the *supplementa*.

It is obvious that these *supplementa*, if they are (to quote Lowe) 'the result of clever conjecturing' are remarkably good: and no serious objection has been put forward against them on internal grounds. Helm, indeed, objects¹ to *de ipso nomine temerarius*, on the ground that Apuleius uses many other names of obvious significance, without troubling to explain them. I do not feel the weight of this argument, and it is noteworthy that in 1913 Helm still printed *de ipso nomine* in his text, as the most plausible restoration of the passage. A much more serious argument is that which Helm bases on the assumption that ϕ 's original scribe had accidentally substituted *quodam* for F's *quoddam* in 184, 3, and that this had provoked the insertion, by ϕ 's supplementer, of *tormento* in the ablative. Were this true, it would be most important, but, as I have pointed out, it is false. We have indeed, if we accept the *supplementa*, to suppose that F's *quoddam* is a blunder (so, in *Florida* 2, = Helm 2, 9, F has *quod dā modo* for *quodam modo*): but, since ϕ also has *quoddam*, the passage is really a strong argument *against* the guess-work theory. Had ϕ 's corrector 'cleverly conjectured' *tormento*, he would presumably have emended *quoddam* to *quodam*. The passage is, in fact, a perfect parallel to 182, 12, where ϕ carelessly wrote *imaginem* for F's *imagines*. Here ϕ 's supplementer has inserted *quas ad habitum*, which implies F's *imagines*, but he has not corrected ϕ 's *imaginem*: nor has he altered to *formauerat* the unintelligible *forauerat* in the same sentence.

The crucial question, however, as recent editors have recognized, is this: granted their intrinsic merits, are these *supplementa* of the right lengths to fill the gaps in F? Both van der Vliet and Helm asked the question: yet both were strangely content to answer it with guesses.

'Sed aliis etiam atque etiam diffido,' writes Helm,² 'quia mihi quidem spatio quod in F exstat non satis videntur convenire; nam v. 13 "servitio diuinis percolens honoribus" ut aptum est Apuleiano usui dicendi . . . , ita plures nescio an habeat litteras quam quibus lacuna sufficiat; v. 14 vero duo verba "solacio cruciabat" nullo modo spatium vacuum supplere possunt, nisi conicias verbum in F falso repetitum et deletum fuisse; et sententiarum tenor cum coniunctionem exigeret, in ϕ alia manus "uero" post "Thrsyllus" addidit, vulgata rectius in lacuna ipsa "sed," ego, quoniam ne hoc quidem satis magna est amplitudine, "uerum." It is obvious that such problems are not matters for conjecture but for measurement, especially in a hand so unfamiliar and tricky as Beneventan, with its ligatures and its wide *a*'s and *t*'s. Accordingly I have repeatedly measured all F's gaps with a small ivory ruler marked in millimetres: and I have found elsewhere in F, and measured with the same ruler, all the combinations of letters found in ϕ 's *supplementa*. The results made it obvious that Helm had not done the same: in almost every case the supplements fitted the space with the minutest exactitude. A large proportion can be checked by anyone in Helm's facsimile: but the gaps there cannot be quite exactly measured, owing to the wrinkling of the parchment, which can only be judged in the original. It must be remembered that in (a) (i.)-(vii.) inclusive, where the gaps include *ends* of lines, the space is somewhat elastic, as the lines vary in length: the rest are more rigid. I have kept a record of the particular groups of letters which I measured as standards, but here I need only speak of points which call for some special comment, and particularly of the cases where ϕ 's *supplementa* do not exactly fit F's gaps.

(a) (vii.) ϕ 's supplement *tio cruciabat*. *Thrsyllus* is too short, as Helm justly observes. The addition of either *Sed* or *Verum* exactly fills the gap: in F's hand the two words are identical in length. The *uero* added after *Thrsyllus* is in direct conflict with F: it is a valuable indication of the immediate source of ϕ 's *supplementa*, as I shall show later on. (ix.) *quin et de ipso nomine* fits, if we make the necessary allowance for the wrinkling of the parchment, and assume that the words were rather

¹ *Florida*, 1910, pp. xxxii sqq.

² *Florida*, p. xxxii.

closely written, as they often are in F: for instance on the next sheet (fol. 161b) the words *sed necquicquam frustra timorem* (190, 4 and 5) are written continuously, with no break between the words. (b) (ii.) (*uul*)*nera* exactly fits the space, but there is no room for the *sed* which the original scribe inserted. (iii.) *Et addi(dit)*, with a capital E (common with *et* in F, and given here by ϕ 's *supplementa*) exactly fits. (iv.) (*inlumi*)*nat*. A(t) does not fit. F clearly had *inluminavit*. At, with rather a long space after the full stop (exactly as long as that between *inducor*. At in III. 7 (57, 14 = fol. 135b of F). (v.) *faciem impressa* exactly fits the space in F, if the required proportion of the mutilated *etiam* is also inserted. This is especially striking, since ϕ 's original scribe dropped the remains of this *etiam*, and his supplementer has not included it. (viii.) Here it will be remembered that F reads *heula* . . . of which ϕ 's original scribe kept only *heu*: the corrector inserted a second *heu*, followed by *eiulat*. *discissaque interula decora brachia* (ϕ 's scribe having omitted the *da* [or *la*] *decora bchia* which still stands after the gap in F). What fits F's gap exactly is simply *t. discissaque interi* (or *interu*)—the *t* being the last letter of *heulat*, which F no doubt wrote by mistake for its normal form *heulat*. This again is a very odd coincidence, if ϕ 's corrector was merely guessing. But if he was adapting to ϕ 's imperfect text the reading *eiulat*, he may well have had the happy thought of making sense of ϕ 's *heu* by expanding it to *heu heu*.

It thus appears that except in six cases (I include the —*he* of [b] [i.]), ϕ 's *supplementa* fit F's gaps exactly: of these six exceptions, two are due to the mistakes of the original scribe, and one (—*he*) probably to an earlier corrector. All can be remedied by very slight changes: but, if ϕ 's *supplementa* were the only evidence, such correction would perhaps be unscientific. In fact, however, in several of the later MSS., and especially in the class which I call Class I., which includes three MSS. of the fourteenth century, we find a continuous text, showing no trace whatever of any alteration or insertion. This continuous text is almost, but not quite, identical with that of ϕ 's *supplementa*, and in every case but one it fits F's gaps exactly. The one exception is (b) (iv.), where these MSS. agree with ϕ 's *supplementa* in reading *inluminat*. At, instead of the *inluminavit*. At which the length of F's gap demands.

In the face of this evidence, we are surely justified in concluding that ϕ 's *supplementa* are not 'the result of clever conjecturing,' but the result of an attempt to insert in ϕ 's imperfect text the readings of a genuine tradition, derived from a copy of F untorn. It is obvious that, if this conclusion is accepted, the later MSS. deserve careful investigation. I will therefore proceed at once to the classification of the later MSS.: this classification is based primarily on their readings in the neighbourhood of the rent, but it is fully confirmed by the evidence of the other books.

Class I.—MSS. which have all the long *supplementa* (I use this phrase to describe supplements roughly identical with those found in ϕ), in a form which exactly fits F's gaps, except for the reading *illuminat*, but which show no trace whatever of the 'short *supplementa*' (which I shall describe in connexion with the other classes). I give below an exact statement of the readings of Class I. in the neighbourhood of the rent: my second and concluding article will be devoted to wider aspects of its character and to proofs of its general value. The Class shows indisputable traces of ϕ 's influence, but its principal source is undoubtedly a copy of F untorn: a copy, therefore, made not later than the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

A1, B1, L1, V2, E, S, N4, α (=the *editio princeps*). B1 is a copy of A1.

The following are the most notable readings of Class I. in the neighbourhood of the rent: where nothing is said, it is to be understood that these MSS. agree with F + ϕ 's *supplementa*, except that a few easy corrections—common to all such MSS. (except F and ϕ), as have not omitted blocks of the text—are assumed throughout as normal: namely, 182, 9 *in pectore*, 182, 12 *formauerat*, 184, 3 *quodam*. I ignore unimportant differences of spelling.

182, 6 and 7: *uerum religiosae necessitati*, with F, against ϕ : but V₂ (an impure MS.) has inserted, after *religiosae*, ϕ 's *etiam*, though keeping F's order. 182, 7: *hilari (hilaro F ϕ)*. 182, 8: *uidebatur (iubebatur F ϕ)*. So Class III. and V₄ of Class II. (b): possibly an original variant in F, which has here lost its margin: *a* has *iubebatur*. 182, 9: *prorsus (prorursus F ϕ)*. 182, 10 (Gap [a] [iv.]) *diesque totos*. So Class III. This fits F's gap exactly, as does also the guess of ϕ 's original scribe, *et dies totos*. 182, 12 (Gap [a] [vi.]): *imagines defuncti quas ad habitum dei*. No other Class agrees with F in the plural *imagines*. 182, 13: *se* (with F: ϕ *sese*). 182, 14: (Gap [a] [viii.]) *cruciabat*. *Sed Thrasyllus*. F certainly had either *Sed* or *Verum* before *Thrasyllus*. 183, 6: *rugitus iterans* (adopting F's variant *ru*: *mugitus iterans* F's text, *mugitus reitersans* ϕ : Class III. have *rugitus*, but combined with ϕ 's *reitersans*). 183, 12: *permanet (permanat F, permaneat ϕ)*: so Class III.: an emendation, not a good one. 183, 13: *mortis meae* (= F, against ϕ). 183, 18 (Gap [b] [i.]): *tuas* (with no trace of ϕ 's *he*). 183, 19: *pluerunt*, except A₁, which had ? *ptulerunt* or ? *plulerunt*, altered to *pluerunt* by a very early hand (probably earlier than B₁, which has *pluerunt*): B₁ (followed by L₁), missing a faint stroke in A₁, has *sanguine* for *sanguinem* earlier in the sentence. 183, 19 (Gap [b] [ii.]): *uulnera. Lancea*. No other Class has this reading, which was certainly F's. 183, 21 and 184, 1 (Gap [b] [iv.]): *illuminat. At illa*. 184, 1 (Gap [b] [v.]): *etiam nunc* (ϕ omits *etiam*, even after being supplemented). A₁, B₁, L₁, V₂ have *non* instead of *nunc*. 184, 4 and 5 (Gap [b] [viii.]): *prolixum eiulat*. *Discissaque interula decora brachia*: B₁ characteristically misread A₁'s abbreviated *discissaque* as *discissam*, which L₁, not less characteristically, emended to *discissa*.

It will be observed that there is little in all this to suggest the influence of ϕ , and abundant evidence for the direct use of F, in contradistinction to ϕ . It is true that A₁, besides *thrasillus*, often has, for F's *thrasyllus*, *tharsillus*, which suggests ϕ 's *tharsyllus*, but it never (I think) has *alepolemus*, as ϕ regularly has, but *ilepolemus* (with F) or *thepolemus*. E has usually *transillus* and *lepolemus*, most deceptively altered by another hand to *trasillus* and *prepolemus*: *a*, like E, has *Lepolemus*. B₁ (though a copy of A₁) often writes *depolemus*. I do not believe that A₁'s *tharsillus* has anything to do with ϕ .

I now pass to the remaining Classes: I will briefly characterize them all, before entering into details about their readings in and near the rent. I usually ignore variants added by later hands.

Class II. Division (a).—MSS. which show no trace (in their texts) of the long *supplementa*, but which contain certain short *supplementa*, unconnected with the long ones, and designed, not to fill the gaps in F, but to bridge them by makeshift phrasing.

L₆, M₁, M₂, G, g, D, O, V₈. In *Met.* VIII., L₂ (here placed in a separate Class V.) was originally of this class: so too is probably L₄ in *Met.* I., but in *Met.* VIII. L₄ is of Class IV.

Division (b). MSS. of the same Class as II. (a), but containing in their texts some or all of the long *supplementa*, with plain traces that these have been inserted at some period, in a text originally lacking them. They all show in addition traces of the short *supplementa*. I shall show that a supplemented MS. of this Class probably conveyed to ϕ its famous *supplementa*.

V₆, V₄, B₃, N₁, N₃, V₁, P. N₁ is a copy of V₄. The lost *Fuxensis* (if Hildebrand's reports of it are correct) undoubtedly belonged to Class II.

Class III.—The most puzzling group, owing to their very mixed character. I have little doubt that they are descendants of the stock of Class I., profoundly affected by Class II., but it might be argued that Class II. is the original stock and Class I. the later influence. Extant MSS. furnish examples of scribes practising both types of revision. V₂ of Class I., in particular, has been so thoroughly revised with the help of some MS. of Class II. type, that a copy of it would almost defy classification.

N2, V7, B2, L3, H, &. They are much influenced by ϕ , but this influence is secondary. B2 is more influenced by Class II. than are N2 or V7.

Class IV.—MSS. derived in the main from ϕ . They all possess the long *supplementa*, but in a form which suggests, as I shall show, that their principal ancestor was derived from ϕ unsupplemented, and that the Class obtained the long *supplementa*, not from ϕ supplemented, but direct from Class I. I shall also show that a supplemented MS. of Class IV., and not either ϕ supplemented or a pure MS. of Class I., probably conveyed the long *supplementa* to Class II. (b), from which they passed, for the first time, to ϕ in the fourteenth century.

L5, L7, V3, V5, L4 (in *Met.* VIII., but in *Met.* I. it is probably of Class II.: it is much defaced, and I have not investigated it deeply). L7 is a copy of L5.

Class V.—A special class may be given to the very curious L2. We know from¹ the subscription to *Met.* XI. that it was originally copied from two MSS., and then corrected throughout by the original scribe from 'an excellent and most ancient one' in the year 1425. In *Met.* VIII. the original source was almost certainly L6 of Class II. (a): in *Met.* I. probably L5 of Class IV., but I have not gone deeply into this question. The 'excellent and ancient MS.' was undoubtedly ϕ , whose readings, good and bad, have been transferred to the first text with almost incredible care. Had F and ϕ both perished since the fifteenth century, this late MS. would be incomparably the most valuable in existence: as it is, it might easily prove valuable in cases where ϕ is defaced. I have not collated it thoroughly, and I shall only mention it occasionally.

I must now state the chief features of the various Classes and Divisions (other than Class I.) in the rent passages: I ignore spelling variations, and most of the obvious blunders of individual MSS.

Class II. (a).—182, 6 and 7: *uerum religiosae necessitati*, with F and I., against ϕ . So also II. (b) and III. 182, 7: *subcubuit* (*subcumbens* F ϕ I., IV.) with II. (b) and III. 182, 7: *quidem* omitted after *uultu non*, with II. (b), and H of III., but I think no others: B3 of II. (b) has *quidem*, but misplaced (between *uultu* and *non*). 182, 7: *hilaro*, with F ϕ II. (b): the rest have *hilaro*, except N2 (*yllare*) and L3 (*hylaro*) both of III. The reading *subcubuit* and the omission of *quidem* are both consequences of a long omission which immediately follows in II. (a), but in no other Class: their function was to make a mutilated sentence grammatical: this omission is from *uerum paulo* (VIII. 8 = 182, 8) to *solacio cruciabat* (*ib.* = 182, 14) inclusive. They open VIII. 9 (182, 14) with *Thrasyllus uero praeceptis et temerarius* (lacking the *sed*, and the *alioquin et de ipso nomine*, of the long *supplementa*, and inserting *uero*). So II. (b), but no others: except that ϕ 's supplementer, and ϕ 's ape, the revised L2, have borrowed this *uero*. 183, 6: *mugitus iterans* (with F's text, against ϕ). So II. (b), except V4, which follows ϕ . 183, 12 *permaneat* (with ϕ , against F). So II. (b) and IV. 183, 18: *tuae*, with I. and III. (no trace of the —he which now stands in ϕ). 183, 19: *proluerunt* (except O *protulerunt*). 183, 19: *sed* inserted before *lancea*, with II. (b), III., IV., and ϕ 's original scribe. This may be borrowed from ϕ , but it is an obvious insertion, and makes the sentence more commonplace: I believe that it is independent. 183, 20 and 21: the words from *et addidit* to *illuminat* inclusive omitted. This is peculiar to II. (a), except for three MSS. of II. (b), V4 and its copy N1, and B3. This omission is followed by the words *quod audiens Charite decoras genas saeuientibus palmulis uerberabat*, of which the first three words are an invented substitute for the first four lines of VIII. 9 (184, 1-4), and the last five are a careless reproduction of F's *decora bchia saeuientibus palmulis conuerberat*. This reading is intimately connected with the previous omission, and is again peculiar to II. (a), except for V4 and B3 of II. (b). V4's copy N1 is

¹ 'quem transcripsi cum duobus incorruptissimis neque cognito, correptus deinde et emendatus per me exemplis (he must mean "most corrupt") me inscio ipsum cum optimo atque uetustissimo exemplari, 1425.'

here affected by a later marginal variant in V₄, of which I shall speak when I discuss II. (b). It is also certain that this was the original reading of the chief ancestor of V₆ and N₃ of II. (b), as I shall show in the same place. The reading has affected all MSS. of III., but none of I. or IV. G of II. (a) reads *uerberat*. 184, 6 and 7: (with slight variations) *nec cum quoquam nocturnarum imaginum secreta participabat*, instead of F ϕ *nec tamen cum quoquam participatis nocturnis imaginibus*. This is also the reading of V₆ and N₃ of II. (b), and the rest of II. (b) and III. are strongly affected by it. It has had no effect whatever on I. or IV.

Class II. (b).—I can be briefer here, as I have already mentioned several points. It will be best to discuss the two rent passages quite separately, as in the second rent passage V₄ and B₃ of II. (b) have left the II. (a) readings unexpanded.

In the first rent passage, the II. (b) readings are identical (apart from trivial spellings and individual corruptions) with F's text + ϕ 's *supplementa* (including the *et dies* totos of ϕ 's first hand in 182, 10 and 11) except for the following points. 182, 8: V₄ (alone) reads with I. and III. *uidebatur* for F ϕ *iubebatur*. 182, 9 *rursus* (for F ϕ *prorursus*). So III., but I. has *prorsus*: of IV., L₄ reads *prorursus*, the rest *prorsus*. 182, 12: *imaginem quam* (omitting F ϕ 's *defuncti*). The singular *imaginem* (ϕ , against F's *imagines*) is read by all MSS. of III. and IV.; and L₃ of III., and V₅ and L₄ of IV. all agree with ϕ supplemented in the ungrammatical combination *imaginem defuncti quas*. The true *imagines defuncti quas* is peculiar to I. 182, 13: V₄ (with its copy N₁) and N₂ of III. have *ipse* for *ipso*. 182, 13: *sese* (ϕ , against F's *se*). So all III. and V₃, V₅ of IV., but none of I. 182, 14: as already mentioned, they leave untouched II. (a)'s *Thrasyllus uero praeceps et temerarius*.

In the second rent passage V₄ and B₃, as I have said, have left the II. (a) readings unexpanded, except that V₄ does not omit *tamen* in 184, 6, and perpetrates the egregious emendation *nec tamen cum quoquam matronarum uirginum secreta participabat* (for *nocturnarum imaginum*): this is copied by N₁.

The other II. (b) MSS. all embody some of the long *supplementa*. V₆ (dated 1345) presents the simplest case of obvious expansion. It had best be quoted in full. 184, 1-5: *At illa ut primum mesta quesierat thoro faciem impressa etiam nunc dormiens lacrimis emanantibus genas comuidat et uelut quodam tormento inquieta quieti excussa prolixum eiulat discissaque intervula decora brachia seuiantibus et cetera. Quod audiens charite decoras genas seuiantibus palmulis uerberabat. nec cum coquam nocturnarum ymaginum secreta participabat*. It is obvious that *At illa . . . seuiantibus et cetera* was a marginal supplement in a MS. from which V₆ was directly or indirectly copied, and that the intention of its writer was that *At illa . . . seuiantibus* inclusive should be substituted for *Quod audiens . . . seuiantibus* inclusive. The scribe of N₃, faced with the same problem, showed rather more intelligence. He substituted the same marginal version for *Quod audiens . . . seuiantibus*, but he kept *et cetera*, and expanded it, with perverse ingenuity, to *et cetera membra*: his passage ends *decora brachia seuiantibus et cetera membra palmulis uerberabat. Nec cum quoquam nocturnarum imaginum secreta participabat*. V₁ (Petrarch's MS.) and P₁, confronted with the same problem, solved it properly, by substituting the same marginal version for the *Quod audiens* passage, and dropping *et cetera* altogether. Their version ends *decora brachia seuiantibus palmulis uerberabat. Nec tamen. . .*

V₄'s copy N₁ illustrates the extraordinarily complicated history of some of these *supplementa*. In V₄ a later hand has added, throughout the *Metamorphoses*, many readings obviously drawn from V₁, including a number of very individual marginal notes; and, among other corrections, this hand has written \cdot against V₄'s *Quod audiens*, and has added (in V₄'s margin) V₁'s version of the whole passage: itself, as we have seen the result of a successful fusion of the two versions which V₄ had failed to fuse, and betraying its mixed origin by various small points, especially by

uerberabat instead of *conuerberat*, and by the form of the following sentence. Nor (as we shall see) was even the early marginal version, embodied, with varying success, by both V₁ and V₄, *itself* (in all probability) a simple tradition, but the result of a still earlier fusion (in a MS. of Class IV.) of a MS. of Class I. with a copy of ϕ unsupplemented. The scribe of N₁ has embodied this later marginal variant of V₄'s in his text: but, not realizing that it should be substituted for the *Quod audiens* passage, he has merely inserted it before *Quod audiens*, so that in N₁ *seuientibus palmulis* occurs twice, with only five words between, and *Quod audiens Charite* becomes wholly pointless. Finally, a late corrector of N₁, probably using an early printed text, based on a MS. of Class I., has attempted, by careful underlinings and marginalia, to clear up the mess: but, even had his directions been intelligently followed by a fresh scribe copying N₁, much unhealed corruption would still have remained. How strongly all this contrasts with the lucid simplicity of Class I.'s text!

All the MSS. of II. (b), except B₃, V₄, and N₁, have remedied the omission in II. (a) of the last words of VIII. 8 *et addidit . . . illuminat*.

Despite small variations, it is obvious that in the second rent passage, as in the first, the version of the *supplementa* which has made its uneasy way into the MSS. of II. (b) is a single version, with certain peculiar readings: especially the false order *redintegrato luctu* in 184, 4. It is probable, though not certain, that the *supplementa* of the first rent passage and those of the second have entered II. (b) from one and the same source: if so, the indications point plainly to a MS. of Class IV. as their principal origin. This is especially suggested by the readings *et dies totos* (182, 9 and 10), *imaginem* (182, 12), *sese* (182, 13); and by the presence in 183, 18 of *hae* (combined with *tuae*) in V₁ and P. These readings, indeed, are common to Class IV. and ϕ , but the II. (b) MSS. lack (as we have seen) several of the distinctive readings of ϕ supplemented, and in 184, 2 they have (with mutilated F, I. and IV.) *etiam*, which ϕ and its faithful follower, the revised L₂ and also III. omit. I shall argue later that the readings of IV. in the rent passages are derived, not from ϕ supplemented, but from a copy of ϕ unsupplemented, revised with a MS. of I.

Before leaving II. (b) I should add that the insertion, by ϕ 's supplementer, of *uero* after *Tharsyllus* in 182, 14 makes it very probable that a supplemented MS. of II. (b) was in fact the immediate source of ϕ 's *supplementa*. The supplementer's retention of the false *sed* in 183, 19 (*vulnera. sed lancea*) fits well with this theory.

Class III.—As I have said, this is the most difficult class. I have already indicated some of its peculiarities: I will here recapitulate and complete the list. 182, 7: *subcubuit* with II. (F and the rest *subcumbens*): but *quidem* omitted (with II.) only by H of III. 182, 7: *hilari* with I. (F and the rest—and L₃ of III.—*hilaro*). 182, 8 *uidebatur* with most of I. and V₄ of II. (b) (F and the rest *uidebatur*). 182, 9: *rursus* with II. (b) (F ϕ L₄ of IV. *prorursus*, I. and rest of IV. *prorsus*). 182, 10 and 11: *diesque totos* with I. (ϕ 's original scribe, II. [b] and IV. *et dies totos*). 182, 12 *imaginem* with ϕ , II. (b) and IV. (F *imagines*, and so I.): L₃ of III. agrees with ϕ supplemented and V₅ L₄ of IV. in the ungrammatical *imaginem defuncti quas*. 182, 13: *sese* with ϕ and II. (b) (F and I. *se*). 182, 14: *Sed Tharsyllus* with I. and IV. (ϕ supplemented and II. [b] *Th. uero*). 182, 14: *praeceptis alioquin et de ipso nomine temerarius*. 183, 3 *procellasque*, with ϕ , L₅ of IV., and L₂ corrected (*procellaque* F and the rest, with H of III.) 183, 6: *rugitus* (with F's margin and I.), but *reiterans* (with ϕ). 183, 12: *permanet* with I. (*permanet* F, *permaneant* ϕ , II. [b] and IV.). 183, 18: *tuae* (without *hae*). 183, 19 *pluerunt* (? *pluerunt* N₂)—a peculiar reading, combined, in some MSS. at least with *sanguine* (also read by B₁ and L₁ of I.). 183, 19: *vulnera. sed lancea* with ϕ , II., and IV. 183, 20 and 21: *et addidit . . . illuminat*. 184, 1: *audiens* (obviously derived from II. [a]) inserted between *illa* and *ut*: peculiar to III. 184, 2: *non* (for F [e] *etiam*

nunc). The reading *non* for *nunc* they share with A1, B1, L1, V2, but the omission of *etiam* they share only with ϕ , and L2 as corrected.

In the rest of the second rent passage, III. agree with I. against II. (b) (where I. and II. [b] differ) in the form of their *supplementa*, but have the unique feature of inserting, in 184, 5, *decorasque genas* after *decora brachia*: a reading, like *audiens*, in 184, 1, obviously derived from II. (a): but they read *conuerberat*, not (with II. [b]) *uerberabat*. In the first sentence unaffected by the rent (184, 5 and 6), however, they agree with II. (b) in the main features of their reading, but not in the order of words, which is that of F, ϕ , I. and IV: they have *nec tamen cum quoquam participabat nocturnarum imaginum secreta*. The variations are unimportant, except that N2 omits *secreta*. This sentence, especially as it appears in N2, is one of the grounds on which I consider III. to be fundamentally akin to I.

III. has other readings peculiar to itself, such as *exhorruit* for *et horruit* in 183, 2 (a reading shared only by O of II. [a]), and *licebat* for *licebit* in 183, 11, but space forbids their enumeration. Some of its members have individual peculiarities, especially B2: which omits *noctes* in 182, 11, reads *atque alioquin* for *alioquin et* in 182, 14, and *decoras genas* (not *decorasque genas*) in 184, 5. This last is the reading of II. (a), and may represent the original reading of III.

Class IV. does not call for much discussion. I have already said that its readings in *Met.* VIII., and wherever else I have tested them (except for L4), make it certain that the whole group is derived mainly from ϕ . A good instance is 182, 6 and 7, where they all follow ϕ against F. Whether, on the other hand, the *supplementa* which they all possess were derived from ϕ as supplemented, or were inserted, from another source, in a copy of ϕ unsupplemented, is less easy to say. They show no trace of the shorter *supplementa* of II. (a), but there is no reason, in any case, why they should. I believe that they are derived from ϕ unsupplemented, because their *supplementa* are definitely, though slightly, superior to ϕ 's in the following points. 182, 14: *Sed Thrasyllus*, with I. and III., against ϕ and II. 183, 18: *tuas hae*. I have pointed out that *hae* probably stood in ϕ before the long *supplementa* were inserted, and that ϕ 's supplementer did not trouble to alter it, or even to add *tuas* to it. 184, 2: *etiam nunc*, though the carelessness of ϕ 's original scribe, in ignoring the surviving tail of F's *etiam*, was not remedied by ϕ 's supplementer. 184, 4: *prolixum eiulat*, with all other MSS. that contain the phrase, instead of ϕ 's *prolixum heu heu eiulat* (in which, as I have shown, the first two words are original, the second two due to the supplementer). These facts might, of course, be explained by the hypothesis of a careful revision of a copy of ϕ supplemented with the help of a MS. of Class I.: but it is simpler to suppose that the text so revised was a copy of ϕ unsupplemented: for such a copy, being obviously defective, would have been more likely than a copy of ϕ supplemented to provoke such revision. I should add that this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, though the *spurcum additamentum* was added to ϕ in the thirteenth century, yet, of the MSS. of IV., neither the two of the fourteenth century (L5 and V3), nor L5's late fifteenth century copy, L7, show any trace of it: and, though it appears in L4 (dated 1422) in the hand of the original scribe, it is there, as I have shown, borrowed not from ϕ direct, but from L1: it occurs also in V5 of the late fifteenth century, but borrowed from L4. These facts suggest that the stock of IV. diverged from ϕ a century or so before it was supplemented in the rent passages.

We have thus seen that the faithful L2, in its corrected form, is the only certain or even probable example of a MS. indebted in these passages to the hand which filled up the gaps in ϕ : that hand which we are asked to consider the sole and irresponsible source of the whole of the long *supplementa*.

It seems, therefore, that the examination of the whole body of MSS. confirms the opinion which I expressed at an earlier point: that in all probability the 'supple-

menta' of Class I. are not 'supplementa' at all, but the original readings of F, copied from that MS. before its mutilation: and that it is consequently reasonable to hope that the detailed examination of Class I.¹ will throw light on dark places of F which even ϕ is powerless to illuminate.

In my second and concluding article I shall prove that this hope has in fact been fulfilled.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

¹ It is of course possible that MSS. of other Classes may occasionally be useful too. II., especially, is sometimes extraordinarily faithful

to F. III. seems sometimes alone to have preserved the original reading of I.

'TEMPORE PVNCTO.'

LUCRETIVS II. 263 'nonne uides etiam patefactos tempore puncto.' 'Tempore puncto' occurs only here in Lucretius and in no other author; but 'puncto tempore' is read in II. 456, 1006, IV. 214; 'puncto in tempore et,' VI. 230. 'Temporis puncto' is found at I. 1109, and 'temporis in puncto' at IV. 164, 193. 'Puncto . . . diei' occurs in IV. 201. 'Punctum' as a noun corresponds to $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, for a point has no dimensions; St. August. *Ep.* 205, 14, 'atomo temporis, inquit, hoc est in puncto temporis quod diuidi non potest.' 'Inquit' refers to St. Paul I. *Ad Corinth.* XV. 52, where the N.T. has $\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and the present Vulgate 'in momento.' And in *Ep.* 190, 15, St. Austin says 'summa celeritate atque atomo temporis'; and St. Jerome, *Ep.* 119, 2, 'in atomo et in puncto temporis atque momento,' 5 'atomus . . . punctum temporis est'; J. Cassian, *Inst.* II. 7, 2, 'puncto breuissimo'; Lact. *Inst.* VII. 12 'uno temporis puncto' 'Punctum temporis' or 'atomus temporis' means an instant of time that cannot be divided.

'Puncto tempore' must have the same meaning; and Lindsay, *Class. Quart.* XIII. 19, and Diels, *Lukrezstud.* V. 50, finding Munro's explanation unsatisfactory, would have 'tempore' written 'tempori,' with apocope of the letter s. This proposal is refuted by Lucr. VI. 230, where 'tempore' is followed by 'et.' There is no instance in Lucretius (and probably in no other author) of the dropping of s before a vowel (Randall, *A.P.A.* 34, lxvi).

In Claudianus Mamertus, *De Statu Animae* III. 16, the rare adverb 'punctatim' occurs in the meaning 'condensed into a point': 'collectim strictimque et ueluti punctatim . . . redegi'; and this passage leads to the interpretation of 'puncto' in Lucretius as 'made into a point' or 'condensed into a point'; time is 'pointed'—that is, reduced to a point or moment—and 'tempore puncto' means 'atomized time.' 'Puncto' is a regular participle, and means pointed in the sense of made into a point or atom.

Lucretius had no imitators in this peculiar use of the passive of the verb, and he would not have used it had it not been for the atomistic philosophy. If 'pungere' can mean 'make a point,' then 'pungi' can mean 'to be made into a point'; but the genius of the language preferred the noun 'punctum' to the participle, and to make a point is 'punctum facere' and not 'pungere.'

W. A. MERRILL.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

s of F, copied
unable to hope
es of F which

as in fact been

ROBERTSON.

one to have pre-

o. 'Tempore
uncto tempore'
o. 'Temporis
'Puncto...
for a point has
est in puncto
orinth. XV. 52,
unto.' And in
oris'; and St.
5 'atomus...
issimo'; Lact.
mus temporis'

, Class. Quart.
unsatisfactory,
etter s. This
y 'et.' There
the dropping

b 'punctatim'
nque et ueluti
of 'puncto' in
is 'pointed'—
ans 'atomized'
sense of made

the verb, and
If 'pungere'
point'; but the
, and to make

A. MERRILL.

CVM AND CVMVLVS.

(a) PLAUTUS, *Trinummus*, 820-823:

salsipotenti et mulspotenti Ioui' fratri aetherei Neptuno
laetu' lubens laudis ago et gratis gratiasque habeo et fluctibu' salsis,
quos penes <est> mei <posita> potestas, bonis mis quid foret et meae uitae,
quom suis med ex locis in patriam turbis cummam† reducem faciunt.

In 820 the corrections of Buecheler and Scaliger are accepted. In 822 the MSS. have *quom penes me potestas*; *quom* for *quos* from v. 823, lacuna supplied by Klotz, *mei <fuit nulla>*, by Leo, *mei <fuit saepe>*. I conceive an intermediate stage: *quom penes mei <positast> potestas*, which would account for the lacuna by haplography, as well as for the change of *mei* to *me* (*posita pot-* is, of course, a proceleusmatic foot).

But it is to 823 that I wish to call attention.

Two metrical points must first be fixed. The only trochee admitted into this passage in 'anapaestic' measure (820-842A) is *uela* in 837. It follows *scindere*; and the verse follows another broken verse ending with *frangere malum*. The trochee is admitted, then, only for a broken effect. In 823 no trochee can be admitted, so that *| med ex | locis in | patriam |* must be rightly printed by Lindsay. Again, the fourth foot here must end with the end of a word; *circum-stabant* (835) is no exception. *in | patriam urb | -em* could not stand without elision of *-em* (as e.g. in Wagner's text: *in patriam urbem usque incolumem*). Leo's *in | patri | -am suau | -issumam* is thus doubly improbable.

But the letters *urbis cummam* (*cumam*: PCD) admit of a simpler correction. There are many analogies even in this play for the expansion of *cummam* into *cumula*<*tu*>*m* or *cumulatū*, and for eliciting from *urbis ut bis*. I propose to read:

quom suis med ex locis patriam, ut bis cumulatū, reducem faciunt.

Charmides, as vv. 834, 839, show, returns doubly loaded with wealth.

The closely parallel passage upon Neptune at *Rudens* 906 sqq. confirms the proposal:

quom me ex suis locis pulchre ornatū expediuit,
templis redducem, plurima praeda onustum . . .

(b) Tacitus, *Historiae*, II. 7:

non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus aliis placuit expectari.
†bellū cūm in† uictores uictosque numquam solida fide coalescere . . .

The reading of M has been emended by Heraeus to *bello civili* (whom Spooner follows), by Meiser to *bellum ruere in*, by Ritter to *expectari bellum cum his*.

The words *uictores . . . coalescere* are manifestly untrue without qualification. The preceding words should furnish the qualification. Tacitus is fond of the construction of *coalescere* with *in* and the accusative—e.g. in this book, ch. 37: *neque . . . exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere*; *Annals*, III. 38. 6: *quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent*. In our passage Tacitus did not write *in bellum*, though both words appear in the MS. His more forcible phrase was, I think:

belli in cumulum uictores uictosque numquam solida fide coalescere.

[*bellū* from *belli*, *in* then added and misplaced; *cūm* from *cūtū*, or the following *in* perhaps displaced a final *m*.] Tacitus has just written, in ch. 6, *tarda mole ciuiliis belli* of Vespasian's massing forces. Here he says that Othonians and Vitellians, whichever win, will never grow together into a solidly combined mass for allied warfare against Vespasian. *cumulus* has its literal meaning; it is used figuratively in ch. 24: *mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus*.

(c) If these two proposals commend themselves they lend weight to the two which follow. If *cumulatum* can become *cūmam* or *cumam*, and *cumulum cūm* or *cūm in*, in the most ancient sources for Plautus and Tacitus, I may point to passages undoubtedly corrupt where the letters of *cum* occur, and where a case of *cumulus* would plausibly mend the sense.

Lucretius V. 312:

denique non lapides quoque uinci cernis ab aeuo,
non altas turris ruere et putrescere saxa,
non delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci . . . ? (308)
denique non monimenta uirum dilapsa uidemus
‡quaerere proporro sibi cumque senescere credas† (312)
non ruere auolsos silices a montibus altis . . . ?

None of the many emendations has ever been found satisfactory. Munro rejected his own first proposal, yet Duff prints it as the only one satisfying sense:

aeuaque proporro solidumque senescere ferrum.

Ellis altered the second half of the proposal to *silicumque senescere petras*, which is less far from the MSS., but refuted by *silices* in the next line. The irony which Munro read into his second proposal,

non monimenta uidemus | quaerere proporro sibi <sene> senescere credas ?

is quite alien to the context, nor, I think, could *sibi* have stood there. Munro conceives the reference to be to inscriptions *seen* by us upon the monuments; but such inscriptions as *these*, addressed to the passer-by, would not assert the brief mortality of the *monument*. No, the *sibi* is seen in a proper context at II. 979:

sibi proporro quae sint primordia quaerunt,

and may well have been introduced into our verse from that one.

If either *sibi* or *cumque* is to be regarded as 'a mere insertion,' I am in no doubt which of the two to reject, for *cumque* makes no sort of sense, and scribes of the ninth century would hardly be likely to recognize it as one word. *Sibi* must go, and *cumque* remain to be accounted for.

Lachmann's proposal rejects *sibi*, expands *cumque*, and extracts *quae* from *quaerere*. In three points I shall follow him. But his verse

quae fore proporro uetitumque senescere credas

assigns to *proporro* and to *credas* a nuance of meaning which neither can bear. Munro rightly declares that the force of *proporro* in Lucretius is always "then further in turn" or the like. *credas* in face of *dilapsa uidemus* would surely need to be *crederes* or *credidisses*. *proporro*, then, which none would dare to impugn, insists that v. 812 carries the sense of v. 811 to some further point, and *credas* that the belief you are likely to hold is consistent with the witness of our eyes. Now *uinci ruere* and *fatisci* above are present infinitives describing a process, not a completed result, and *dilapsa*, so often used of buildings, does not mean that these have fallen to the earth

the following
da mole civilis
and Vitellians,
mass for allied
ed figuratively

ht to the two
cūm or cūm in,
t to passages
ase of cumulus

08)

12)

story. Munro
ying sense:

, which is less
which Munro

edas?

ere. Munro
numents; but
sert the brief
I. 979:

m in no doubt
es of the ninth
must go, and

ts quae from

bear. Munro
hen further in
d to be *crederes*
ts that v. 812
belief you are
ere and *fatisci*
d result, and
n to the earth

in fragments, but that they are in a state of disintegration, have fallen into decay, need restoration. [Tac. *Ann.* IV. 43. 6; Livy IV. 20. 7, and many inscriptions.]

I propose to substitute a *t* for a *r*, to reject *sibi*, and to expand *cumque* into *cumulumque*, then to read:

denique non monumenta uirum dilapsa uidemus?
quae tere proporro cumulumque senescere credas.

'Again, see we not monuments of great men fallen into decay? Nay, further, rub them, and thou wouldest believe that their mass ages.' Use sense of touch after sense of sight; the external disrepair of the facing is not so serious as the friability of the concrete core. For the construction, compare *dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo*, etc. (Virg. *Ecl.* 3. 104).

Compare the whole passage at I. 311-327, especially 315 sqq.:

strataque iam uolgi pedibus detrita uiarum
saxea conspicimus: tum portas propter aena
signa manus dextras ostendunt adtenuari
saepe salutantum tactu praeterque meantum,
haec igitur minui, cum sint detrita, uidemus.

And 325:

nec porro quaecumque aeuo macieque senescunt . . .

(d) Horace, *Odes*, I. xxxii. 15:

o decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
grata testudo Iouis, o laborum
dulce lenimen †mihi cumque† salue
rite uocanti.

MSS.: *mihicumque* as one word. The traditional explanation was that *cumque* stood for *quandocumque*. The supposed analogy, not very close at best, in Horace's use of *quandocumque* breaks down; that word, in *Odes* IV. i. 17 and ii. 34, and *A.P.* 359, stands to *quando* as *namque* to *nam* (so Housman). But why should *cumque* stand for *quando*- or *cum*- *cumque* rather than for *ut*-, *ubi*-, *quod*-, *quale*-, or any other *cumque*? Could *πῶτέ* stand for any of their Greek equivalents?

Now *rite uocanti* refers back to the first word of the ode, *poscimur*. The ritual summons comes from patron to poet, from poet to lyre. Jove enjoys relaxation at his feast; Phoebus has no such relaxation, but glories in Jove's behest to sing. The lyre is *not* to Horace 'a sweet softening of labours,' but to Maecenas or Augustus; to him it is rather the crowning labour itself. *mihi*, then, in v. 15 would unnecessarily limit *rite uocanti* to the poet without the patron, and would at the same time attribute Jove's part rather than Apollo's to the poet. The word comes under suspicion of being 'a mere insertion,' like the *sibi* before the *cumque* in Lucretius (above). *mihi* is not infrequently a scribe's stopgap, as e.g. at Propertius, *El.* IV. 3. 11 in all MSS. but the oldest. And though no such stopgap has been discovered in the *Odes*, such seem to occur in other works of Horace—e.g. *A.P.* 65, *sterilisue [diu] palus aptaque remis*, where even Lindsay (with Servius) does not convince me that *palūs* could have been shortened, and Bentley's *palus* <*prius*> accounts for the corruption: and *Epp.* II. 2. 199, *pauperies immunda [domus] procul absit*, where, however, no satisfactory emendation has been offered, and where I now diffidently propose <*pio*> *procul*.

I do not, however, need so to argue here. The tradition *mihicumque* may arise from *cumm'que*, and that from *cumul'que*; or, again, *cumulusque* may have been expressed *cumutq*, and *-ut* mistaken for *m'* (see Lindsay's *Notae Latinae*, p. 384: I. § 476, IV.).

o laborum dulce lenimen *cumulusque*

gives chiasmic correspondence with *o decus Phoebi et dapibus . . . grata Iouis, grata* being matched by *dulce* in the same point of the verse. *cumulus* bears its figurative sense of 'crown'; compare Tacitus' phrase noted above, '*cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus*' (*Hist.* II. 24). It adds the poet's point of view to the patron's, Apollo's to Jove's, and *rite uocanti* can now include both, though the poet stands nearest, as is meet.

It remains to defend the Greek use of nominative for vocative 'in solemn address.' The case is in apposition to *tu* or *uos*, as at Juvenal IV. 24:

hoc tu, succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro.

Propertius appears to have the construction at *Cynthia* XVIII. 20: *uos eritis testes, si quos habet arbor amores, fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo*, for it is unlikely that he used *fagus* as of the fourth declension, as *Culex* 141. Terence may have it at *Phormio* III. 1. 10 (324), where Donatus writes '*nom. pro uoc.*,' but where editors alter *amicus* to *amicu's*. Plautus has it, as at *Asinaria* 655:

di te seruassint semper, | custos erilis, decu' popli, thesaurus copiarum . . .

Horace appears to have it at *Sat.* II. 2. 107, *o magnus risus* (sc. *tu*). He certainly has it at *A.P.* 292, *uos, o Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite* (imitated by Persius I. 61, *uos, o patricius sanguis*).

My reasons for rejecting the emendations of Lachmann and Bentley will have appeared; the proposals of Sudhaus and Herwerden need no refutation. But it is too much to hope that so difficult a problem has been solved.

O. L. RICHMOND.

EDINBURGH.

THE IONICVS A MINORE OF HORACE.¹

THE Twelfth Ode of the Third Book of Horace consists of four stanzas in this metre, each stanza consisting of ten feet. How these feet should be distributed into verses is a matter of much dispute; but inasmuch as it does not concern me at the present time I shall avoid it by following certain editors of Horace and printing each stanza continuously.

1. Miserarumst neque amori dare ludum neque dulci mala uino lauere aut exanimari metuentis patruae uerbera linguae.
2. Tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas operosaeque Mineruae studium aufert, Neobule, Liparaei nitor Hebri.
3. Simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lauit in undis, eques ipso melior Bellerophontē neque pugno neque segni pede uictus.
4. Catus idem per apertum fugientis agitato grege ceruos iaculari et celer arto latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum.

On the metre of this Ode M. Laurand, in his recent *Manual of Greek and Latin Studies* (Paris, 1918), p. 791, writes as follows: 'Dans cette pièce d'Horace l'accent coincide toujours avec l'ictus métrique.' This utterance must be narrowly examined, for at the back of it is a theory. It is the theory, widely held among scholars of to-day, that the ancients wrote Latin verse with one eye on the quantity and the other on the word-accent. And our Ode has been laid under contribution for

¹ A paper communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society on February 15, 1923.

this very purpose by the late Professor C. T. Goodell, *Chapters on Greek Metric*, p. 165, in an argument with which I shall presently deal. When M. Laurand says that 'the accent' always coincides with 'the metrical ictus,' he is thinking only of ionic feet of the form $\cup\cup\text{—}$, 'miserárumst' or 'metuéntis.' He is therefore neglecting forms which, like 'dára lúdum,' 'néque dúlci,' have two accents, he is raising into the dignity of a canon a coincidence which Professor Goodell (see below) pronounced to be 'inevitable and of no significance,' since Latin words with a long penultimate must in any case have their 'accent' on this syllable, and he is at odds with Horace himself, who has for ionic feet in stanza 1 'láuere aut ex-,' 'pátruae uér-,' and in stanza 3 'melior Bel-.'

Professor Goodell was more subtle. After speaking of the trimeter of Terence discussed by Caesius Bassus, p. 655 sq., Keil, 'exclúsit réuocat, rédeam? nón si me óbsecret,' where every word-accent coincides with a down-beat, he says:

'This particular line is merely one very good illustration of a rather common phenomenon, common enough to show the tendency referred to above, to make accent and ictus fall on the same syllable in places where otherwise the rhythm would not be sufficiently clear. A notable case is furnished by Horace, *Carm.* III. 12, in which no word-accent is allowed to fall elsewhere than on one of the three beats of the ionic foot.¹ Of course, as regards the accented longs, that is inevitable and of no significance; but in the case of the two shorts it is otherwise. And though in the sixteen lines of the poem there are twenty-one instances of an accented short penult or antepenult, in every instance that accented short syllable is the former of the pair which the meter requires, never the latter. It is hard to see any reason why Horace never made that pair consist of the final short of one word and the accented short of a following iambic word, unless it was a desire to make the word-accent a help rather than a hindrance of the rhythm, since this was an unusual one in Latin.'

Professor Goodell then appeals to 'the very next ode,' III. 13, 'also containing sixteen lines but with only twenty-four pairs of short syllables against forty pairs in III. 12,' where 'there are three pairs consisting of a short final syllable followed by an accented short initial syllable.'²

Let us look into his Horatian example first. III. 13 'O fons Bandusiae' is a 'triform quartet,' to use the nomenclature of my *Prosodia Latina*, that is to say it is a four-lined combination of three different kinds of verses (Asclepiad, Pherecratean and Glyconic), and each of these is itself composed of different kinds of feet. But III. 12 consists of repetitions of one and the same foot. Nor does the looseness of the comparison stop here. The 'three pairs' of short syllables which Professor Goodell was regarding ('dulci digne méro,' 'te flagrantis átrox,' 'me dicente cáuis'), occur in the first half of the Asclepiad only, and in order to get an analogy with a reasonable basis of probability the appeal should have been to the *first* halves of *all* the Asclepiads of Horace; but Professor Goodell has drawn his figures not only from the Pherecratean and the Glyconic, but also from the second half of the Asclepiad. Lastly, the *ionicus a minore* is a foot of three units, and if to give Professor Goodell's thesis every chance we analyze the Asclepiad metre on the assumption that it contains such a foot, what resemblance is there between an *ionicus a minore* and a choriambus? Need we say more?

To return to III. 12, feet of the form whose absence therefrom Professor Goodell

¹ This is intended to mean the first, third and fourth syllables of the foot.

² He refers us also to Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.*, 483-512, and Aeschylus, *Persae*, 66-116, 'in substantially' (his 'substantially' conceals an assumption) 'the same meter as Horace III. 12,' where 'there is no trace of such a law as Horace observed. In *Oed. Tyr.*, 483-496, for example,

one strophe only, and excluding some cases that one might question, there are thirteen pairs of short syllables in which the former is unaccented and the latter accented.' I am afraid these admittedly imperfect analogies from Greek tragedians will not greatly influence those who reflect how freely Horace deals with the metres of the lyric poets proper.

regards as significant are such as might be got by writing 'operosae|que deae méns' for 'operosaeque Minervae,' or 'male morá|ta fúgit Bel|lerophonem,' if it is conceivable that in any circumstances Horace would have perpetrated such a thing. Now it is to be observed that Horace was writing a poem, not arranging an exhibition of all possible variations in an ionic foot. What he admits we know; but for laying down what he excludes, the material we have, forty feet in all, is far too scanty. Verse endings such as 'deae méns' violate the canon of coincidence of ictus and word accent which the school of Professor Goodell discovers in the last foot of the hexameter; and if all of Vergil had been lost except the last four-fifths of *Aeneid* I., fifteen times forty cases could have been adduced to show this ending was un-Vergilian.

It is impossible, then, to prove that Horace avoided this form of the ionic foot. But that he did avoid it is possible. And this, though a mere hypothesis, shall presently be considered. The suggestion that the coincidence of a principal word-accent with the metrical ictus of the third syllable of the ionic foot makes that syllable more prominent, and may thus give to the reader, if he needs it, 'a help to the perception' of an 'unusual rhythm,' is not in itself absurd. But what help is it to him to know that the accent must not fall elsewhere than on one of the three beats of the ionic foot? In 'agitáto' (I mark *accented* syllables by italics) the accent may be helpful; but 'dare lídum' is distracting, and in 'patruae uer-,' 'meliór Bel-,' is it aught but a hindrance? If Horace designed a coincidence of accent and ictus which should be a guide to the reader, why does he now on the one hand leave the syllable upon which the ictus falls without a word-accent, and now on the other hand allow accents on two at least of the syllables upon which it does not fall? Surely there is but one conclusion. *In this ionic metre at any rate the word-accent was immaterial.*

I have already hinted that to understand Horace's handling of this metre we should in the first instance look not to the choric odes of the Greek drama but to those of his avowed models, the lyrists, of which Hephaestion *Enchiridion* 71, 72, has given us specimens—from Alcman

"Ἐκατον μὲν Διὸς νίδν τάδε Μῶσαι κροκόπεπλοι,

and from Alcaeus,

"Ἐμε δειλὰν ἔμε πασῶν κακοτάτων πεδέχουσιν.

Studying these examples, and disembarassed of the accentual fantasy, we realize the probability that in Horace's treatment of this metre there were definite limits to the disintegration of the ionic foot by caesuras. Everyone of the forty feet in Horace, and of the eight feet in the Greek examples quoted above, satisfies the condition that the ionic foot shall be either (A) *unbroken*, or, if broken, then (B) *broken at not more than a single point*. The admitted varieties are (a) $\cup\cup--$, 'miserarumst'; (b) $\cup\cup|--$, 'neque dulci'; (c) $\cup\cup-|-$, 'patruae uer-'; and (d) $\cup| \cup--$, of which there are two examples, '-que Minervae' and '-uit in undis.' For since a preposition was pronounced with its following case, 'per apertum' belongs to the first type, and in 'nequ(e) amoris' the elision ('coniunctio uocalium') binds the words together. In 'lauer(e) aut ex-' there is nothing exceptional; for there is no breach at the elision and the unaccented 'aut' is pronounced with the following word. But '(operosae)-que deae méns' breaks the foot in two places. That it would disintegrate its unity we can both see and hear; and if Horace did avoid it, this avoidance is now perfectly comprehensible. It is but a consequence of the rule of the metre, which we may formulate anew as follows. In the Horatian *ionicus a minore* metre each foot must be contained in a single word or divided at one point only, which, however, may be after any syllable in the foot.

J. P. POSTGATE.

GEOGRAPHICAL LORE IN THE *LIBER GLOSSARVM*.

In the encyclopaedia portion of the *Liber Glossarum* the compiler introduced numerous historical and geographical excerpts of varying length. The writers from whose works the geographical extracts are primarily taken are Isidore, Orosius, and Eutropius; but though the compiler has in many cases appended the labels ESIDORI, PAVLI HOROSI, or simply OROSI, and EVTROPI to the entries, this is by no means always the case. A few of the excerpts are of great length; thus, the longest of all, Hispania (HI 233), which is labelled PAVLI HOROSI, SVLINI, OROSI, fills a whole column of the Paris MS. (P.).¹ Other long geographical entries are IT 12 (Italia),² GA 52-4 (Gallia Belgica, Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia),³ and RO 105-8 (Roma).⁴ The length of HI 233, coupled with the fact that the next entry (HI 234) fills half a column of P., and contains Isidore's remarks on Spain (*Etym.* 14, 4, 28-30), has been used as an argument by those scholars who maintain that the *Liber Glossarum* is the work of a Spanish compiler.⁵ To this the obvious retort would seem to be that the presence of three passages about Gaul might with equal justice be used to support the view that the compilation was made in France. Other evidence of a 'Spanish hand' in certain geographical items will be given below, but it is of such a character that it adds nothing to the evidence for the vexed question of provenance.

The short geographical glosses are mainly taken from two sources: either they are quotations from the above-mentioned authors and some others (e.g. Jerome), the lemmata being sometimes labelled, sometimes not, or else they are notes on place-names occurring in Vergil. Of these some are labelled VIRGILI, and are, in fact, marginalia from a Vergil MS. used by 'Ansileubus'; some are marked DE GLS—that is to say, they are Vergil glosses incorporated in the *Abstrusa* glossary as it has come down to us, or in the earlier and larger version of that work which was used by the compiler of *Lib. Gloss.*,⁶ some few again are unlabelled, but can be identified with reasonable certainty as marginalia of a Vergil MS.⁷

There remains a small residue of geographical lemmata which call for a short investigation, and which are the subject of this paper.

Among the textbooks on geography which were favoured in the earlier part of the Middle Ages was the *Cosmographia* of Julius Honorius, last published by Riese in his *Geographi Latini Minores*.⁸ Of this little work two versions have been preserved:

¹ Contains Oros. 1, 2, 69-72; Solin. 23, 1-3; Oros. 1, 2, 73-4; *id.* 5, 23, 16.

² Labelled ESIDORI; it contains *Etym.* 14, 4, 18-9.

³ GA 52 (OROSI) contains Oros. 1, 2, 63; 53 (unlabelled)=*id.* 1, 2, 64-5; 54 (ESIDORI) contains *Etym.* 14, 4, 25-7.

⁴ RO 105, labelled ESIDORI, but not in his works as they have come down to us; 106 Oros. 2, 4, 1-3; 107. A variant version of Isid. *Etym.* 15, 1, 1, and Eutr. 1, 1; 9, 15, though the item is only labelled ESIDORI. 108, Isid. *Etym.* (with variations) 15, 1, 55; 9, 4, 42.

⁵ *In primis* by Goetz; but from his latest work, *C.G.L.I.*, published in 1922, it would seem that

he has become doubtful about the Spanish origin of *Lib. Gloss.* (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 108). His pupil Wessner, however (*ib.*, p. 331), would still appear to be an uncompromising supporter of this theory.

⁶ For Vergil glosses in *Abstrusa* cf. Thomson, *St. Andrews Univ. Publ.* XIII, pp. 46 sqq.

⁷ E.g. EN 66 'Enipeus: fluuium Thessali[u]ae,' cf. *Geo.* 4, 368; and PA 312 'Pantagras (-gias): fluuius in Sicilia qui ante Pantagrus (?) uocabatur,' cf. *Serv. auct. ad Aen.* 3, 689.

⁸ The latest investigation of Julius Honorius and his work is that of Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll X. 1, coll. 614-28.

the earlier, called A by Riese, has come down to us in only one MS., but of the slightly later and fuller version (B in Riese) there are several early MSS. The still later adaptation of Aethicus does not concern us here. The *Liber Glossarum* contains six lemmata, which are clearly taken from a version of the *Cosmographia*. On the whole they agree most nearly with B, but there are one or two important differences. All these excerpts are explanations of river names, and read as follows:¹

BE 178 B <a>etis fluvius : nascitur in campis Hispaniae, occidit in Oceano occidentali, currit milia trecenta decem.

Cf. Riese, p. 36, B 1: 'milia CCCCX B.' A omits this entry, and L.G. the sentence, found in B, about the river Singillius.

DV 169 Durius fluvius : nascitur in campis Hispaniae, infundit in Oceano occidentali inter duos oppidos (!). Post hoc currit milia quingenta octuaginta.

Cf. Riese, p. 36, 4, and B 4: 'milia CCCXCXV B.' L.G. differs from both A and B, but is nearer to A. Is the barbarous 'inter duos oppidos' an unintelligent abbreviation of 'diuidens Galliciam et Lusitaniam' in B?

HI 39 Hiberus fluvius : nascitur sub Astericis (-ur-) montis Pirinei uicinus inlustrans Hispanias. Infundit se mari iuxta Dertosa <m>. Currit milia ducenta tria.

Cf. Riese, p. 37, 4, and B 4: 'Astyribus . . . in mari . . . milia CCIIII B.' This gloss is labelled ESIDORI, but the label clearly refers to the next lemma in L.G., which is from Isid. *Etym.* 13, 21, 31. *montis* has apparently been corrected to *montes* in L.G. In one important particular L.G. differs from both A and B; both the latter read *Tarracona*.

ME 3 M <a>eandros : fluvius qui nascitur in campis Mesiacicis (As-), bicornius currit quasi sint duo redigentes se ad unum. Influit in mare Cicladum (Cy-). Currit milia octoginta tria.

Cf. Riese, p. 45, 1, and B 1: 'milia DCCCXCVII B,' otherwise B and L.G. are identical.

TA 81 Tagus fluvius : nascitur in montibus Hispaniae, occidit in Oceano occidentali. Currit milia sescenta decem.

Cf. Riese, p. 36, 2, and B 2: 'campis Hisp. A, campo B, milia CCCCH B' (but there is some discrepancy in the MSS.). 'In montibus' in L.G. is a great improvement on the other versions. The phrase 'in campis (or -o)' recurs regularly in the *Cosmographia*, a fact from which Kubitschek would deduce that the maps available did not distinguish clearly between high- and low-lying territory. The correction of L.G. is the more noteworthy, because the Tagus rises at an altitude of nearly 6,000 feet, so that 'in campis' is singularly inappropriate.

TI 13 Tiberis : Italiae fluvius nascitur ex monte Appen <n>ino; occidit Tyrr <h>eno mari iuxta Romam. Currit milia XDCCCLXXXVIII.

Cf. Riese, p. 39, B 8: 'in mari . . . milia CCCC B.' A omits the entry. The addition of *Italiae* and *iuxta Romam* in L.G. shows that our compiler was proud of his Italian geography. The distance in both versions is of course fantastically wrong, since the real length of the Tiber is 245 English miles.

¹ The two versions of the *Cosmographia* will in the sequel be referred to as A and B, the *Liber Glossarum* version as L.G. The italics indicate verbal agreement between L.G. and A or B, or both.

Taken as a whole, the version in *L.G.* shows more knowledge of Spain than A and B. The reference to Dertosa in HI 39 is particularly striking. This town is situated on the Ebro, and from here to the river mouth, a distance of twenty-two miles, the river is navigable. Tarracona, on the other hand, is over forty miles from the estuary. With regard to the estimates of length, the honours are even between the two versions. *L.G.*'s estimate for the Tagus, 610 miles (=circa 575 English miles), is astonishingly near the true figure, which is 566 miles. But in the case of the Durius and the Baetis, whose real length is 485 and 375 English miles respectively, B is somewhat more accurate. The real length of the Ebro is about 450 English miles, so that both versions are hopelessly wrong; the same is true of the estimates for the Maeander and the Tiber.

The question how this version of the *Cosmographia* came in the first instance to be inserted in the *Liber Glossarum* cannot be answered with complete certainty. That Julius' work was popular is known, and one of the main reasons for this was doubtless, as Kubitschek suggests, due to Cassiodorus' advice to monastic pupils to improve their minds by reading it.¹ Moreover, it is certain that the MS. of Isidore used by the compiler of the *Liber Glossarum* belonged to the 'interpolated' or Spanish family. Hence it may be surmised that, just as the chapters on Rhetoric and on gems in this Isidore MS. seem to have contained additions from Julian of Toledo and Pliny, so the geographical portions had some additions from Julius Honorius. The accurate knowledge displayed about Dertosa and the mouth of the Ebro—though not its length—would be quite in keeping with this explanation, and does not therefore form an additional argument for the Spanish origin of *Lib. Gloss.*

There are thirteen further geographical glosses whose source cannot be determined with certainty. It will be convenient to consider these in three groups for reasons that will become obvious in the sequel:

I.

AU 172 Aufidus: amnis Italiae qui in Adriaticum mare orion (?) funditur (fundatur PF).

This may well be a garbled version of a scholium on Verg. *Aen.* 11, 405. The last word but one was evidently corrupt in the archetype of *L.G.*, since all the MSS. concur.

CA 646 Carcharidus (Gangaridum): amnis Armeniae.

The item is labelled DE GLS, and a comparison with GA 94-5 and NI 50 shows that the interpretation really belongs to Niphates (cf. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 89). The confusion must be put down to the *Abstrusa* compiler, since the mistake would arise when the marginalia on Verg. *Geo.* 3, 27 and 30, were transferred to the glossary. In his zeal for double entry and cross-reference the compiler combined the lemma word of one entry—misreading it in the process—with the interpretation of another.

MI 85 Minci<u>s: amnis Galliae Mantuam praeterfluens.

The corrector of *A(m)brosianus* makes the quaint addition 'Ergo Mantua est Galia' (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 12, or *Geo.* 3, 15). This seems to be a mere variant of the next lemma (MI 86)—'Mincius: amnis Mantuam praeterfluens, ingens, flexuosus'—which Thomson (*op. cit.*, p. 70) claims for the larger *Abstrusa* glossary.

NO 77 Nola: ciuitas Campaniae.

Perhaps a marginal comment on 'uicina Vesaeuo ora iugo' (Verg. *Geo.* 2, 224) in the Vergil MS. used by 'Ansileubus.'

¹ Cass. *Instit. diu. script.* 25. The passage is quoted in full by Kubitschek (*op. cit.*, coll. 617-8).

PA 58 Padus: amnis qui inter Italiam Galliamque oritur; profluit ad Orientem uersus prope Rabennam.

Possibly from a Vergil scholium on *Aen.* 9, 680; this is more likely than that the gloss is a shortened form of Isidore, *Etym.* 13, 21, 26.

II.

IS 9 Isara: fluuius Galliae influens R<h>odano.

RU 244 Rutupina: urbs Brit[t]an<n>iae.

VA 179 Varus: fluuius qui ex Ligurtinis (-ust-) Alpius fluit in mare Tyrrhenum.

The last of these three glosses is labelled DE GLS, the other two are unlabelled. They have been grouped together because they may all go back to the same source. The form of the second lemma-word is curious, for instead of *Rutupiae* the derivative adjective in the feminine singular or neuter plural is given. But if this is a note on Lucan (6, 67), 'Rutupinaque litora feruent,' the mistake is intelligible; the scholiast treated the adjective as a noun.¹ Pliny refers to the *Varus* several times, and is followed by Mela, but there is no similarity between the gloss under consideration and these passages; nor can Florus be regarded as the source.² Where Pliny is the source of a *Lib. Gloss.* item, directly as in the case of certain lemmata dealing with gems, or indirectly *via* Isidore, the verbal correspondence between the original and the derived gloss is always sufficiently near to leave no room for doubt. Vibius Sequester in his list of river names includes the *Varus* (Riese, *op. cit.*, p. 152, 9). He is not the source of *Lib. Gloss.*, but, as is well known, his lists of river and mountain names, etc., are taken from sundry classical poets, amongst them Lucan. Further, in Vibius is the entry 'Isara Galliae currit in Rhodanum' (*ib.* 149, 11). These two river names come from the same passage of Lucan (1, 404 and 399), and the suggestion may thus be hazarded that these two lemmata in *Lib. Gloss.* are like RU 244 marginalia from a Lucan MS. The further question how such Lucan marginalia found their way into *Lib. Gloss.* is one of great difficulty, for one reason, because one cannot be sure that the label against the third item is not misplaced. That 'Ansileubus' used a Lucan MS. is not a feasible assumption, for then we should expect to find a far greater number of Lucan glosses. It is of course well known that many glosses in *Lib. Gloss.* contain quotations from Lucan, but these probably come from a Vergil MS. containing parallel passages in the margin.³ If the three glosses under consideration got into the *Abstrusa* glossary in this way, or, alternatively, direct into the *Lib. Gloss.* from a Vergil MS.—in which case the label is wrong—it is hard to see what Vergilian passages could have been illustrated by these Lucan extracts, which then would have provided the material for separate glosses. If the label against VA 179 is misplaced, 'Ansileubus' may have got his information at second hand—e.g. from the interpolated version of Isidore. But for the present the answer to this question must remain in doubt.

III.

CI 67 Cydnus: fluuius Siciliae (Cilic-) e Tuuro (Tau-) monte means (et muro P).

The item is labelled VIRGILI, but is misplaced, for the next lemma contains a Vergil quotation. The *Cosmographia* (Riese, p. 44) mentions this stream, but there

¹ That the lemma is a gloss on Ausonius, *Parent.* 7, 2 ('tellus Rutupina'), is quite unlikely; the case for Lucan is strengthened by taking the three glosses together; and, besides, Ausonius is not an author found in the 'quotation' glosses

as Lucan is.

² E.g. *N.H.* 3, 35 ('amnis Varus ex Alpius monte Caenia profusus'); Mela, 2, 72; Florus, 1, 19, 4.

³ On this question cf. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

is no resemblance between A or B and *L.G.* Probably the gloss is a variant of *Isid. Etym.* 13, 21, 20, but 'means' is unusual.

ME 94 Mediolanum: urbs Italiae.

SI 45 Sicilia: insula prope Sardin<i>a<m>.

This queer entry is labelled DE GLS.

TE 699 Teumesius: amnis est.

Can this originally have been part of the gloss on *Rutupina* above? The spelling, unless it is a mere blunder on the part of the scribe, is without parallel.¹

ZM 5 Zmirna (Smy-): urbs Lidiae quam Meles fluius cingit.

Is this an abbreviation of Solinus (40, 15) or a gloss on Statius, *Silu.* 3, 3, 61, which reached the *Lib. Gloss.* through an intermediate source? The former suggestion seems more likely, when it is remembered that extracts from Solinus occur elsewhere in the *Lib. Gloss.*

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
KING'S COLLEGE.

¹ The Thames must surely be meant. Apart from the classical writers, *Thamesis* occurs once in Gildas, while Bede favours *Tamensis*.

MACROBII: AITHIOPians AND OTHERS.

MR. LAST's very interesting note (*Class. Quart.* XVII., pp. 35-36) is so ingenious and the Egyptian evidence falls so pat that it deserves to be right, but I very much doubt if it is. In fact the Aithiopians do not stand alone, and the context of their longevity deserves consideration. If that context is recalled, it may appear that 'to say that the legend was attached by the Greeks to the Aithiopians through their remoteness from the Mediterranean world is no explanation' is itself a hard saying.

The tradition, to which the Aithiopian Macrobian of Herodotus belong, begins with Homer and runs right through classical antiquity. They are a species of the genus 'gentle savage,' fortunate in the enjoyment of those primitive excellences, ethical, social, and physical, which were alleged to be characteristic of 'natural man.' Of such, who were certainly difficult to find nearer at hand, it was believed or pretended that the dwellers upon the extreme fringes of the known world consisted.

In Homer these ἰσχυροὶ ἄνδρῶν are represented on the north by the horse-milking Abii, the most righteous of men, and on the south by the blameless Aithiopians, to whose banquets the Olympian deities periodically repair. As geographical knowledge increased the borders of the known world were pushed back, and with them the hypothetical races of 'natural man.' The Hyperboreans recede further and further to the north and east (the 'Indian Hyperboreans' of Megasthenes = the Uttara Kurus of Indian legend); the Seres, Indians, or inhabitants of some island in the Indian Ocean supplant or supplement the Aithiopians. The number and variety of these

semi-fabulous peoples were increased by the new inventions of travellers' tales and by philosophic romancers or romantic philosophers, who found in them the convenient machinery for the attractive presentation of Utopias. The whole story, of course, is to be found, together with a collection of the pertinent references, in the second chapter of Rohde's *Griechische Roman*.

Now among the characteristics peculiar to this genus of 'natural man,' which recur again and again in its various species, will be found to be the physical attributes of abnormal height and a more than ordinary span of life. It is true, I think, that neither Scyths nor Aithiopians are stated by Homer to possess these possibly enviable peculiarities, but already Simonides and Pindar attributed to the Hyperboreans a thousand years of life (Strabo XV. 57, 711). Thenceforward the chain of testimony to the longevity of 'natural man' will be found to be continuous right through classical literature and on into the medieval. Thus in the fifth century after Christ Palladius tells of Taprobane *ἐνθα εἰσὶν οἱ λεγόμενοι Μακροβίοι* (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*, ed. Müller, III. 7); and the Ophionikoi of Timokles, a peculiar species of the 'natural man' family, who derived their longevity from eating snakes, are echoed in the Prester John literature of the twelfth century, and in the passage of Roger Bacon about the dragon-taming Aithiopians who have lately arrived in England, France, Italy, and Spain, 'et in istas terras Christianorum in quibus sunt dracones boni uolantes.'¹

Now surely the Aithiopian Macrobian cannot be explained without reference to this long consistent tradition. Are we then to suppose that the *fons et origo* of the whole business is the hypothetical mistake of 'Long Lived' for 'Long Bows'; and that Hyperboreans and others were infected with longevity by Aithiopians through false analogy based upon an 'undistributed middle'—viz. Aithiopians are Macrobian: Aithiopians are a species of 'natural man': therefore all species of 'natural man' are Macrobian? If so, the alleged mistake as to the meaning of Macrobian must have become accepted doctrine some time before Herodotus, if Pindar and Simonides knew of Hyperboreans who lived a thousand years!

The alternative is to suppose that the Aithiopians were originally 'Long Bows'; that when they became included in the family of 'natural man' the mistake that they were 'Long Lived' was made, because Hyperboreans and others were Macrobian in this sense. If so, it would seem probable that the mistake occurred before Homer, who quite unmistakably ascribes the Aithiopians to the genus of 'natural man'!

Is it not a good deal more probable that longevity was a characteristic of the 'natural man' from the very early days of that picturesque invention, and that the explanation of *Αἰθίοπες Μακροβίοι* is in fact to be found after all in their location as *ἐσχατοὶ ἄνθρωποι*?

THE UNIVERSITY, LIVERPOOL.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

¹ For the *Ὀφιονίκοι* and other classical long-lived snake-eaters, see Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 219. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* II., p. 243, first drew my attention to the connexion between the passage in Roger Bacon (cf. *ibid.*, p. 657) and the *Letter of Prester John*. I do not think that Bacon copied directly from the twelfth-century version of the *Letter of Prester John* to which Zarncke (*Abhandl. d. Kgl.*

Sächs. Gesells. d. Wiss. VII. 913) refers, but the matter was clearly a marvellous commonplace which goes right back to Timokles. This is worth mentioning, because it completely disposes of the theory of Wiener that Bacon is alluding (nearly two centuries before it seems actually to have taken place) to the migration of Gypsies into the countries of Western Europe.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Academy at Rome. Papers and Monographs. II. 1923.

Lily Ross Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria*. The general plan of this work is the same as that adopted in R. M. Peterson's *Cults of Campania* (Vol. I. of the same series, already noticed). It is rather a collection of the known material concerning the Etruscan localities than an original work, and in the preface the authoress disclaims any attempt to write 'a general study of Etruscan religion.' On pp. 29-229 the known sites in Etruria (defined as the seventh Augustan region of Italy) are reviewed in geographical order from south to north, and the evidence for each given briefly but critically. In the first and concluding chapters (pp. 1-28; 230-254) are given respectively a summary of Etruscan history and a brief account of the results arrived at by study of the material. Professor Taylor agrees in substance with the Herodotean account of the origin of the Etruscans. She holds with Pigorini that the Villanovians were descended from the terramara people. She supposes the Etruscans proper to have been relatively few in number, most of the gods worshipped by them in Italy to have been of native origin, and their own contribution to have been confined to their system of divination and to certain externals of ritual such as costume. On a number of minor points she offers views of her own, mostly already published by her.

American Journal of Philology. XLIV. 2. April-June, 1923.

Maurice Bloomfield, *The Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction*. Continues 'the encyclopedic treatment of Hindu Fiction planned some years ago.' E. G. Sihler, *Strabo of Amaseia: His Personality and His Works*. Suggests that Strabo became the protégé of Augustus through the influence of the Stoic Athenodorus of Tarsus, who taught them both; and discusses the extant work of Strabo, concluding that the historical and political *memorabilia* and the 'cultural records' contained in it are more important than the actual geography and were more interesting to the author himself. M. P. Charlesworth, *Tiberius and the Death of Augustus*. Examines the story that Livia and Tiberius poisoned Augustus, and suggests that it originated among the supporters of Julia and the elder Agrippina, but that it played its part as a source for Tacitus and was responsible for the bias against Livia which appears first in the *Annals*. J. Whatmough, *The Abbreviation of Vester and a Vercelli MS.* Adds another (VI. 381 in *Liber Glossarum*) to the known instances of the very rare contraction *uēri*, etc., for the oblique cases of *Vester*; and gives a brief report of the Vercelli MS. of the *Liber Glossarum*, which is one of those not seen by Goetz. H. C. Nutting, *Cicero: Cato Maior*, 82. Discusses the interpretation of . . . *tanta esse conatos* . . . *nisi* . . . *cernerent* and suggests that, unlike the following clause, this clause is not a 'contrary to fact' condition, but that the meaning is 'they did not . . . without hope of immortality.' The sense would naturally be expressed by *sine magna spe immortalitatis*, actually found in *Tusc.* I. 32. H. C. Tolman, *The Scorquin Photograph of the*

Nahs-i-Rustam Inscription. Gives twenty-four emended readings of the ancient Persian text, based on Stolze's photograph, and on the emended trilingual text of Weissbach. E. K. Rand, *Note on the Vossianus Q. 86 and the Reginenses 333 and 1616*. In deference to an article in *A.J.P.* XLIV. 1, withdraws the suggestion that the Phaedrus of *Vat. Reg. Lat.* 1616 once stood at the end of the Vossianus.

XLIV. 3. July-September, 1923.

Maurice Bloomfield, *The Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction*, Part II. R. S. Radford, *Tibullus and Ovid*, Part II. Details the great number of verbal parallels (phrases, half lines, etc.) which unite the 'Tibullus Appendix' with the received work of Ovid, but which never occur in the genuine Tibullus, and adds a running commentary which shows in every case whether the Ovidian words and idioms are peculiar to Ovid or are common to Catullus, Vergil, and Propertius. W. H. Kirk, *Ne and Non*. Gives a list of 'volitive' (*ne-neue*) and 'consecutive' (*non-neque*, etc.) negatives found with *facere*, its compounds, and words of similar meaning, and discusses some examples at considerable length. W. A. Oldfather, *The Date of Plato's Laws*. Brings forward Demosthenes XXIV. 139 (delivered 353/2), where Locri is called *πόλις εὐνομούμενη*, to support the inference from Justin XXI. 3. 9, that Dionysius' capture of the citadel of Locri took place in 352 B.C., and that consequently *Laws* I. 638b was composed later than that date.

Hermes. LVIII. 1. 1923.

W. Judeich, *Griechische Politik und persische Politik im V. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* H. Gomperz, *Ueber die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge einiger Bruchstücke Heraklits*. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Lese Früchte*. Miscellaneous notes on Lysias, Hypereides, Theocritus (VIII.). F. Vogel, *Die Kürzenmeidung in der griechischen Prosa des IV. Jahrhunderts*. An attack on Blass' view that this rule is peculiar to Demosthenes. MISCELLANEOUS: W. A. Baehrens defends Mommsen's date (93) for the praetorship of Pliny the Younger against Otto. R. Heinze holds that in Virgil, *Bucol.* VII. 41-44, Thyrsis is not speaking for himself, but in the name of Galatea.

LVIII. 2. 1923.

E. Howald, *Ionische Geschichtsschreibung*. An attempt to account for the laxity with which Herodotus judges political treachery. H. is the product of 'Kaufmannskultur.' K. Barwick, *Ueber die Proömien des Lukrez*. E. Maas, *Diktynna*. On *Oxyrhynchos papyrus* 661. The narrative is concerned with the story of Britomartis-Diktynna. E. Leuze, *Die Feldzüge Antiochos' des Grossen nach Kleinasien und Thrakien*. A. Körte, *Die Zeitbestimmung von Hypereides' Rede für Lykophron*. MISCELLANEOUS: J. Mussehl interprets Martial IX. 95, *Alphius ante fuit coepit nunc Olphius esse*, etc. Alphius was once Athenagoras, Alpha or Number One, but now Ath. is married he is a mere Omega. This contrast is common in paederastic literature. F. Jacoby on *Pap. Ox.* 1801 and Phylarchos.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. LI./LII. 3, 4. 1923.

3. O. Schroeder, *Die Religion Pindars*. A useful sketch. R. Heinze, *Die horazische Ode*. A subtle study of the differences between ancient and modern lyric poetry, between Horace and the Greeks, and between the first three books of the Odes and the fourth.—4. W. Schur, *Zwei Fragen der älteren römischen Verfassungsgeschichte*. An elaborate discussion of the origins of the republican constitution, with especial reference to the Centuries, the Consular Tribunate, and the Consulate. Schur offers a large number of definite conclusions, lucidly stated. P. Geigenmüller, *Harmonien und Dissonanzen bei Dio, Plutarch und Favorin*. A detailed and sympathetic account of the moral and philosophical views of these three men.

the ancient
original text of
1333 and 1616.
tion that the

R. S. Radford,
els (phrases,
work of Ovid,
commentary
e peculiar to
Ne and Non.
atives found
cusses some
Plato's Laws.
cri is called
t Dionysius'
consequently

ndert v. Chr.
ke Heraklits.
on Lysias,
y griechischen
s peculiar to
(93) for the
at in Virgil.
f Galatea,

or the laxity
Kaufmanns-
iktynna. On
Britomartis-
leinasion und
bhron. Mis-
nunc Olphius
now Ath. is
ic literature.

3, 4. 1923.
Heinze, *Die*
modern lyric
books of the
Verfassungs-
tution, with
Consulate.
eigenmüller,
sympathetic